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# **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-024

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**Azerbaijan CP CC Resolution on Restructuring in Republic**

18300237a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
22 Apr 88 pp 1-2

[Article: "At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan has discussed the question of the letters and oral statements of workers which have come in as a result of the conducting of the plenum of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee to discuss the report of the Central Committee Buro concerning the work of administering the restructuring.

During the period of preparation for the plenum, the adopted resolution states, the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee requested Communist Party members and all the workers to express their opinion concerning the activities of the republic's party organization and the Central Committee Buro in administering the restructuring, and to make specific recommendations for intensifying the party's effect upon the attainment of real shifts in the economy and in the social and spiritual spheres.

More than 1200 letters and oral statements, containing almost 5000 recommendations and critical comments, were received. They contain expressions of active support of the party's course that was worked out by the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and a profound self-interestedness in the development of glasnost, the democratization of social life, and the carrying out of a radical economic reform.

While approving on the whole the practical measures undertaken by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee in supporting the restructuring of the sociopolitical and socioeconomic spheres, the workers express specific recommendations to assure the further intensification of that work and to guarantee a fundamental turning away of the party and economic activity from coercive, command-type, bureaucratic methods of management to democratic, open forms of administration and economic methods of management.

Many letters state that the process of restructuring in the republic has been proceeding with difficulty. Slow steps are being taken to stamp out formalism in the organizational and political-ideological work of the party agencies and to eliminate the "paper-pushing" attitude; little is being done to monitor the fulfillment of the decisions that have been made; and one continues to observe a gap between word and deed, as well as numerous shortcomings in the work with cadres. A decisive fight against undesirable elements, instances of malfeasance, and violations of the principles of social justice is not being waged everywhere. A rather large number of recommendations have been made for intensifying the party guidance of the economy and the ideological support of economic construction. It has been recommended that

the republic's mass information media throw more light in a flexible, more complete, and more objective manner on the progress of the restructuring, without disregarding the critical problems.

The desire has been expressed that party and soviet workers visit the labor collectives more frequently, meet people more often, and pay more attention to improving their living and working conditions and to reinforcing law and order and discipline. Attention is drawn to the need to accelerate the rates of housing construction and to produce consumer goods. The letters written by agricultural workers contain recommendations for implementing the Food Program and for assuring the further development of the family and lease contract in rural localities, and subject to criticism the obsolete methods of planning "from the top," that shackle the farms' independence and initiative. They identify serious shortcomings in the job of improving the quality of a number of food products being produced.

The resolution emphasizes that the workers' serious reproaches are evoked by numerous shortcomings in transport, trade, the personal and medical services provided to the public, and incidents of extortion and deception of the citizens and of crude, callous treatment of them. Slow steps are being taken to introduce into the trade system those forms of service or technological processes that are progressive and convenient for the public. The work of providing paid services has been lagging considerably in rural localities. The writers of a number of letters suggest intensifying the fight against bribes, figure-padding, the suppression of criticism, and other undesirable phenomena.

The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the Communist Party members and all the workers in the republic who took active part in the preparation for the Central Committee plenum. Many recommendations and critical comments expressed by the workers were used during the course of preparing the report of the Central Committee Buro, were made known to the participants in the plenum that was held, and were taken into consideration when preparing its resolution. They will serve as an important orientation marker when defining the further practical steps in the chief areas of the restructuring.

The resolution requires the party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to take practical steps to implement the recommendations and critical remarks contained in the workers' letters that were addressed to the Central Committee plenum and aimed at a fundamental restructuring of the style and methods of party work, primarily as a result of the assimilation of democratic, open forms of party guidance, the transferring of its center of gravity to the masses of the people, and the revealing of the creative potential and initiative of the party activity and all



the Communist Party members and workers. The resolution requires them to take all steps to develop intra-party democracy, to increase the role played by the elected agencies, to carry out decisive measures to improve the activity of the party apparatus.

Special attention must be devoted to the restructuring of cadre work, to bringing in replacements for the administrative makeup from among competent, active people who are carriers of the new way of thinking—workers, kolkhoz members, representatives of the advanced segment of the intellectual class, and capable young people. Steps must be taken to assure that the national makeup of the administrative cadres reflects the population structure more completely, to guarantee the observance of the democratic principle of resolving cadre questions, and to ensure the regular study and generalization of the practice of employing the competitive system of open, public selection of cadres and filling of vacancies. Energetic steps must be taken to introduce new approaches in the work with the cadres reserve, and to guarantee its effectiveness by means of a thorough study of people's political, on-the-job, and moral qualities.

It has been recommended to the party, soviet, trade-union, and economic agencies that they concentrate their efforts on resolving the acute social problems, on the taking of effective steps to assure a considerable improvement of people's living and working conditions and the reduction of the lag that continues to exist between the development of the social infrastructure and the volumes of production, and to strive to increase the rates of construction of general-educational schemes and preschool institutions, medical institutions, physical-culture and therapeutic institutions, and cultural amenities. They must increase their attention to questions of protecting the environment and the ecological condition of the regions, and must hold strictly accountable the officials who display an undisciplined attitude in fulfilling environmental-protection measures.

The Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, NKAO Ispolkom, the ispolkoms of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies, ministries and departments, and republic committees of trade unions are required on a daily basis to keep in the center of their attention the questions linked with the implementation of the housing problem, the buildup of the volumes of activation of housing, and the further development of the in-house method of housing construction. They are to take all steps to encourage and increase individual housing construction and to provide it with the necessary material-technical resources. They are to achieve a sharp increase in the quality of the housing being activated.

They are required to improve the municipal-housing services provided to the public, to guarantee the regular fulfillment of the plans for capital repair of the housing

fund, and to react promptly to the workers' complaints and recommendations that are linked with the continuous operation of water and heat supply and other utilities.

They are required to guarantee the strict observance of the principle of social justice when assigning housing, to involve the public in monitoring functions, to guarantee broad publicity, and to take decisive steps to stop any violations or malfeasances in this matter.

Gosplan (Comrade Mutalibov) and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems (Comrade Kerimov), jointly with the ministries and departments and the soviet agencies in the outlying areas, must consider the incoming recommendations for involving the unemployed members of the population in production, especially in rural localities. They are to carry out specific measures to create small branches of enterprises and shops, to expand types of labor that can be performed at home, and to form cooperatives among the public on the basis of organizing production entities to use industrial and agricultural waste products and local raw materials.

The Ministry of Light Industry (Comrade Ibragimov), Ministry of Local Industry (Comrade Fataliyev), Ministry of the Timber Industry (Comrade Ayriyan), and the other ministries, departments, and enterprises in the republic are to take additional steps to assure the further expansion of the assortment and improve the quality of consumer goods and articles for young children, adolescents, and adults.

Proceeding from the market situation and the demand, Gosplan, jointly with the ministries, is to take specific steps to increase the production of commodities with an increased demand in order to assure the complete satisfying of the needs of the population in the republic for commodities to be used for cultural, everyday, and household purposes. At such time special attention is to be paid to the sharp expansion of the production of toys, commodities intended for sports and tourist use, gardening tools and equipment, and building materials.

Gosagromprom, the party's obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms, the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, the ispolkom of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies, and the ray(gor)ispolkoms are to take decisive steps to put an end to officious methods of management, to give greater independence to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other enterprises in the APK in resolving questions of economic production, and to accelerate everywhere the changeover to progressive methods of planning, organizing, and providing incentives for labor. They are to increase the work of introducing collective, family, and brigade contracts, complete cost accountability, and the payment of labor on the basis of the quantity and quality of output. They are to take all steps to expand cooperative forms of organizing production, and to deepen the integration of the social economy with the citizens' private plots,

striving for the main goal—the increase in the production of all types of high-grade agricultural output and the improvement of the manner in which it is supplied to the public.

Gosagroprom (Comrade M. S. Mamedov) is to consider the workers' recommendations with regard to increasing the use of land in the mountainous and foothill rayons, the broad involvement of them in economic turnover, and the use of this production to build up the size of the food resources. The ispolkoms of the local soviets are to intensify their attention to the socioeconomic development of the mountain villages.

The Ministry of Trade, Azerittifak, Ministry of Municipal Services, Goagroprom, and the ministries and departments that have a trade network and render paid services to the public are to take decisive steps to introduce the proper order in the providing of services to the workers in conformity with people's increased demands, and to saturate the market with the necessary commodities. They are to view this work as one of the urgent tasks of the restructuring, and an important factor for raising the national standard of living. They are to activate completely the new management conditions, and to take more aggressive steps to develop the network of cooperatives and the individual forms of labor activity in order to satisfy the public's needs for commodities and services.

The party's raykoms and gorkoms are to take specific steps to reinforce the primary party organizations and the trade enterprise by drawing on Communist Party members from among the workers and specialists in the national economy, considering this to be a most important sociopolitical task. They are to devote special attention to the further involvement of young people and women in the trade network. Mintorg (Comrade Karakhanov) and Azerittifak (Comrade Abdullayev) are to organize the occupational training that they require.

Gosagroprom (Comrade Guseynbekov) is to prepare and to present to AzSSR Council of Ministers recommendations for fundamentally improving the organization of the trade in fruits and vegetables in the city of Baku and other industrial centers, making provision at such time for a steady shipment of them to the trade system.

Azerbaijan Trade-Union Council, the republic trade-union committees, and AzSSR Committee of People's Control, jointly with the labor collectives, are to establish continuous workers' control over the activities of the enterprises of trade, public nutrition, and personal services. They are to reinforce the makeup of the working commissions with persons of the highest principles—Communist Party members, members of the Komsomol, and representatives of the working class.

The departments of trade and personal services, and agriculture and the food industry, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party are to give regular

reports on the rate of the fulfillment of the measures approved by the Buro of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee for introducing proper order in trade and stopping instances of the accruing of nonlabor income.

Ministry of Motor Transport (Comrade Rustamov), the Administration of the Azerbaijan Railroad (Comrade Abdullayev), the Azerbaijan Administration of Civil Aviation (Comrade Sadykhly), and the Caspian Maritime Steamship Agency (Comrade Akhmedov), jointly with the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, have been given the responsibility of carrying out a series of practical measures to assure the fundamental improvement of the transport services provided to the population in the republic. They are to devote special attention to the resolution of questions linked with the acceleration of the introduction of automated systems for controlling passenger haulages and for selling tickets, the broad application of new, including cooperative, forms of organizing the services provided to the passengers at terminals and en route, the improvement and development of the made-up-train network, the intensification of the fight against misappropriation of proceeds, and other undesirable phenomena. In the resolution of this social problem they are to strive for broad glasnost and the active participation of the public and the consideration of public opinion, using for that purpose the available positive experience of the "direct telephone line," and dialogue with television viewers and newspaper readers.

The Procurator's Office (Comrade Ismaylov), MVD (Comrade Mamedov), Ministry of Justice (Comrade Orudzhev), and AzSSR Supreme Court (Comrade Talybov) are required, in close interaction with the party, economic, and monitoring agencies, public organizations, and labor collectives, to carry out the steady implementation of the party's intentions with regard to increasing the attention paid to the citizens' letters and complaints and intensifying the fight against nonlabor income, drunkenness, alcoholism, and narcotics addiction, and with regard to the consolidation of socialist legality and social justice. They are to provide a comprehensive and broad analysis of the reasons for undesirable situations and must carry out that work aggressively and uncompromisingly. They must strive for a situation in which, in all branches of the national economy, in all spheres of practical activity, the Soviet laws and principles of social justice are observed fastidiously, and in which all channels and loopholes for illegal enrichment at the expense of the state and the citizens are tightly closed.

The managers of the republic, city, and rayon law-enforcement agencies, the political agencies of the MVD, and the primary party organizations must assure the high professional level of the work performed by their cadres and the strictest observance by them of socialist legality, and must take decisive steps to rid themselves of morally unstable individuals who have compromised themselves. They must establish close ties with the primary

party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations at enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and construction sites. They must inform the labor collectives regularly about the work being carried out.

The party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, ministries and departments, and economic organizations in the republic have been advised to establish precise order that guarantees the taking of an attentive attitude toward the workers' recommendations that have been arriving during the process of the restructuring of society, and also guarantees effective monitoring of the resolution of the questions raised by the citizens. They are to make it a broader practice to hold open-letter days with the participation of the administrators of party and soviet agencies, and to have those administrators give reports to the public and the labor collectives concerning the progress of the restructuring that is being carried out in the republic.

The departments of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee have been given the responsibility of establishing rigid monitoring on the implementation of the recommendations and critical comments contained in the workers' letters, to carry out the appropriate inspections regularly, and to hold the managers of the party and soviet agencies and the ministries and departments strictly answerable for instances of red tape and a bureaucratic attitude toward the questions raised by the citizens.

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**Fuller Biography of New Azerbaijan CP First Secretary Vezirov**  
*18300280 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian*  
22 May 88 p 1

[Unattributed biographical sketch of Azerbaijan CP Central Committee First Secretary Abdul-Rakhman Khalil ogly Vezirov; this is a fuller version of the biography published in the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, FBIS-SOV-88-099, 23 May 1988 page 57]

[Text] Comrade A.Kh. Vezirov was born to a blue-collar family in 1930. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1952, and is a graduate of the M. Azizbekov Azerbaijan Industrial Institute.

Beginning in 1951 Vezirov was involved in organizational work for the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee at the Azerbaijan Industrial Institute, and starting in 1954 he served in turn as secretary, second secretary, and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee.

He became secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee in 1959.

Starting in 1970 Comrade A.Kh. Vezirov engaged in party work as first secretary of the Kirovabadskiy Gorkom, and in 1974 became head of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee's Industry and Transportation Department.

Since 1976 he had been involved in diplomatic service as USSR consul general in Calcutta (Republic of India), ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Nepal, and later ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Comrade Vezirov has received the following awards: October Revolution, Red Banner of Labor, People's Friendship, "Badge of Honor," and various medals.

He has been elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, Eighth Convocation, and deputy to various convocations of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

### **Lithuanian Plenum Focuses on Nationalities Questions**

#### **Information Report**

*18000342a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian*  
6 May 88 p 1

[Unattributed report on plenum of LiSSR CP Central Committee held 5 May 1988 in Vilnius]

[Text] On 5 May 1988 the 11th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee was held in Vilnius.

Plenum participants observed a minute of silence in memory of P. Yu. Shidlauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian CP Auditing Commission and former first secretary of the Radvilishskiy Party Raykom, who died on 4 March 1988.

The following plenum agenda was approved:

1. Discussion of work by the Vilnius City Party Organization to intensify ideological-class, internationalist and patriotic education of the public in the wake of the decisions of the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

2. Report by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro "On the Status of Collection and Accounting of Membership Dues by the Republic Party Organization During 1987."

3. Organizational Matters.

On the first point an account was presented by K. V. Zaletskas, first secretary of the Vilnius Party Gorkom.

Participating in discussion of the account were: E. E. Mayauskene, first secretary of Leninskiy Party Raykom, Kaunas; I. L. Belinis, LSSR minister of culture; L. B. Vorobyev, chairman of Kolkhoz imeni V. I. Lenin,

Vilnyusskiy Rayon; A. M. Maldonis, chairman of the board of the LSSR Union of Writers; L. V. Adamovich, fitter-assembler at the Vilnius Fuel Apparatus Plant imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR; V. K. Yemelyanov, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA; B. A. Zhyamkauskas, first secretary of Radvilishkiy Party Raykom; Y. Yu. Anichas, rector of Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute; K. I. Yuralovich, first secretary of Shvenchenskiy Party Raykom; O. I. Buynauskene, head of soil sciences section, biological department of Kolkhoz imeni S. Neris, Kaunasskiy Rayon; O. O. Burdenko, director of Vilnius Radio Measurement Instrument Plant imeni 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution and chairman of the Vilnius City Committee of War and Labor Veterans; A. A. Matsaytis, first secretary of the LSSR Komsomol Central Committee; A. M. Skorin, party committee secretary, Vilnius Radio Components Plant; Yu. A. Sklyarov, chief of CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department; and G. T. Taurinskas, major-general and chairman of LSSR DOSAAF Central Committee.

R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, delivered a speech on the matter in question.

A resolution was passed on this matter.

V. A. Berezov, chief of the Organizational Party Work Department, presented a report on the second point.

An appropriate resolution was passed.

The plenum then considered organizational matters.

The plenum appointed Ye. I. Parymud chief of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee's Industry Department.

The plenum appointed S. P. Apanavichyus chairman of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee's Party Control Commission, simultaneously relieving him of his duties as chief of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee's Administrative Organs Department.

V. F. Gerzhonas was appointed chief of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee's Administrative Organs Department.

The plenum relieved Yu. Yu. Karosas of his duties as editor of the newspaper VALSTECHYU LAYKRASHTIS in connection with his retirement.

Comrade V. V. Butenas was appointed editor of the newspaper VALSTECHYU LAYKRASHTIS.

V. D. Tkachenko, responsible worker of the CPSU Central Committee, attended this plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee.

**Speech by R. I. Songayla, First Secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee**

*18000342a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
6 May 88 pp 1-2*

[Speech by R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, at the 11th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee in Vilnius on 5 May 1988: "Raising Citizens, Patriots and Internationalists"]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrades! The matter which we are discussing is of very great social and political significance. In his speech entitled "The Ideology of Renewal for Revolutionary Restructuring," given at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, M. S. Gorbachev stressed the following: "At the present stage we must study nationalities policy very thoroughly. In all its aspects, both theoretical and practical. This is a most fundamental, vital issue for our society."

The account from the Vilnius Party Gorkom presented by K. Zaletskas attests to the fact that the city's party organization is aware of the importance of these matters and all in all is working hard to resolve them. At this point it is proper to note that this is also typical of our entire republic party organization. The Lithuanian CP Central Committee, many party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations have intensified their work to reinforce the principles of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism in all areas of life and to strengthen friendship among peoples.

Recently the Vilnius City Party Organization has, implementing our party's Leninist course toward restructuring, done quite a lot of work with regard to the study and molding of public opinion, training of an ideological aktiv capable of objectively and in a well-reasoned manner demonstrating the nature of the CPSU's nationalities policy and conducting an aggressive polemic with nationalistically inclined individuals.

The party gorkom and raykoms and a majority of primary party organizations have drawn the proper conclusions from the events which occurred in Vilnius on 23 August of last year. As reported, a great deal of work has been done.

All this, as you are aware, made it possible to foil an attempt by nationalistic elements to provoke a new anti-Soviet demonstration, this time under the guise of the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of a so-called "independent" Lithuania. It may be stated that it was as a result of the work that has been done by party, soviet and administrative organs that the anti-Soviet group actions planned in Vilnius for that date did not take place. The same conclusion may be drawn upon consideration of the situation throughout the republic as a whole. The extremists also did not succeed in exploiting worship services in Catholic churches for the purpose of inciting nationalistic sentiments.



However, in this respect we should not feel even the slightest bit complacent—quite the contrary! Therefore at this Lithuanian CP Central Committee Plenum today I would like to direct your attention to some important aspects of this work.

The responsibilities of the Vilnius City Party Organization are great. In its practical work it can and should make effective use of the large scientific-technical and cultural potential that exists in our republic capital. One circumstance favoring substantial improvement of public patriotic and internationalist education is the fact that Vilnius is a multiethnic city with a long tradition of friendship among peoples. We are filled with firm resolve to do everything possible to strengthen and multiply that friendship!

The people of Vilnius, like all the working people of our republic, are preparing with great enthusiasm to greet the 19th All-Union Party Conference and to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian CP and the proclamation of Soviet power in our republic. As you are aware, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee has passed special resolutions on these matters. Now it is very important that everything that has been planned be made reality.

Party organizations must stop underestimating the political significance of patriotic and internationalist training and strive in every way possible to raise the level of responsibility of administrators and of each communist for the state of the ideological, moral and psychological atmosphere in labor collectives.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee has, as you are aware, drawn up and approved a program to intensify ideological-class, patriotic, internationalist and atheistic education and to make counterpropaganda work more aggressive. Party gorkoms, raykoms and primary organizations have already done a great deal toward implementation of that program. But we cannot stop there. Today we need a comprehensive system of patriotic and internationalist education at the level of each collective, rayon and city.

The party gorkom should play a particularly active role in this regard. It should more decisively mobilize the city's party organizations to eliminate substantial shortcomings and errors, which are numerous in Vilnius, and to raise the militancy of all communists to a new level. The first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms should demonstrate initiative and take personal responsibility in this matter.

I would like to direct your attention to the fact that the Lithuanian CP Central Committee has planned measures to meet the specific cultural needs of all ethnic groups living in our republic. Unfortunately, the party and soviet organs of Vilnius, as well as of our republic as a whole, have still not taken enough specific steps to implement those measures. This applies in particular to

restructuring of museums, organization of art exhibits and literary evenings, and development of amateur artistic activities by the various ethnic groups. Certain public organizations, in particular the Lithuanian Culture Fund, have not been active enough in this regard. The Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Department and Culture Department should work more persistently to solve these problems.

Comrades! As we are all well aware, the formation of young people's spiritual outlook and the inculcation in them of a spirit of friendship and brotherhood toward the peoples of our country will remain a task of primary importance. This account by the Vilnius Party Gorkom revealed what the city is doing in this direction. But in this work there remain quite a few untapped resources.

We cannot tolerate the fact that, despite restructuring, at a number of schools the patriotic and internationalist training of young people often consists of nothing more than the work of international friendship clubs and the conducting of other mass events, in place of such training being conducted throughout the entire academic process. This is typical of schools No 8, 10, 54 and several other general educational schools in the city. It is not difficult to see where this practice leads: often students do not have a clear understanding of processes occurring in the realm of nationalities relations both within our own republic and throughout the country as a whole; they are not capable of correctly evaluating specific phenomena in the life of our people.

It should be noted that many of these shortcomings are also typical of a number of vocational and technical schools, secondary specialized educational institutions and VUZs.

The Lithuanian CP Central Committee's Science and Educational Institutions Department, our republic Ministry of Education and party gorkoms and raykoms must raise their standards for heads of schools, their faculty, party organizations and soviet organizations regarding the status of work to improve the patriotic and internationalist education of young people in school. The contribution made by the Komsomol and its organs in this regard should also be more substantial.

In this regard it is particularly important that we strengthen friendly ties between schools with different languages of instruction. It is an abnormal situation when these ties are episodic and formal in nature. We must improve the culture of interethnic interaction prevailing among students, particularly at the rayon, city and republic levels.

Work to implement the principle of bilingualism in the public life of our republic also demands greater attention and tact. Much has already been done and continues to be done in this regard. However, we have still not fully overcome the indecisiveness and formalism existing in this area. Is it normal that a majority of teachers of

Lithuanian language and literature teaching in schools where Russian or Polish is the language of instruction are not properly qualified, or that VUZs are not training enough of these teachers despite the fact that they have a good academic and methodological basis at their disposal?

We must do everything possible to ensure that the principle of bilingualism is always fully reflected in the work of party, soviet and administrative organs, in the realm of public services, in the content of graphic agitation and in the organization of various events. When resolving problems such as these we must definitely always follow not the course of administrative pressure, but instead solely the course of creation in our republic of all the requisite conditions for mastery of both Lithuanian and Russian, the course of improving language cultural in general.

In the report and in speeches by our comrades the question was rightfully brought up of how to improve the molding of a historical consciousness among working people, particularly young people. The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, the Ministry of Education, institutions, and VUZ rectors should make greater demands of historians and other workers in the social sciences, getting them more actively involved in the elucidation of current issues of both the historical past and the present on a basis of clear-cut methodological principles, which are based on the immortal Leninist theoretical heritage. It is especially important that, as was emphasized in a PRAVDA editorial on 5 April of this year, that in this work we always consistently comply with the requirements of the specific-historical approach and maximum objectivity.

We would be wrong to underestimate the fact that questions pertaining to the historical path of the Lithuanian people and their cultural heritage are the subject of intense ideological struggle. For this reason it is essential that we continuously, efficiently and thoughtfully work to resolve problems that arise in that area, taking exhaustive measures to prevent any and all negative manifestations.

We must devote the most serious attention to the fact that persons of an extremist orientation, incited from abroad, often attempt to exploit religion for hostile political ends. Such attempts must always be decisively rebuffed. It is very important that we improve individual work with believers, particularly with those who are under the influence of religious extremists. We must do everything possible to ensure that students are shielded from the influence of church members.

It is essential that we make more effective use of the great potential possessed by our creative intelligentsia in our efforts to restructure all our ideological and political work. The main strength of the intelligentsia is focused right here, in Vilnius.

We take a positive attitude toward the concern on the part of many persons in literature and the arts that more active efforts need to be made to solve a number of ecological problems, implement the school reform and strengthen historical memory. It is precisely these people who, employing the weight of their authority, rebuffed attempts by certain renegades to revive nationalistic sentiments in February. However, we expect an even clearer ideological stance from all units of the creative intelligentsia on the most timely problems that arise during the restructuring process.

Unfortunately some statements, as well as some actions, by certain of our creative workers have at times been out of touch with reality. We cannot agree with this, since this can act as a brake on efforts to achieve the planned positive changes in social development. Our republic party organization, while eager to encourage talent and the artistic search, nonetheless is also going to make greater demands of creative workers. Each person working in literature or the arts in our republic should be fully aware that above all he must personally become more knowledgeable about those processes which are occurring in our momentous era.

The Lithuanian CP Culture Department and party gorkoms and raykoms should in every way possible intensify the work of the primary party organizations of creative unions and expand their role in shaping the civic stance of all generations of those who create our artistic values. Regular meetings between the creative intelligentsia and the leaders of party organizations and soviets both at the city and the republic level should be the rule.

As has already been noted, the Cheremushkinskiy Rayon (Moscow) Culture and Sciences Days held in Vilnius have been an active help in strengthening interethnic ties and mutually enriching cultures. We are in favor of holding more events like these.

Toward that end we must utilize even more effectively the favorable opportunities opened up by the successfully developing socialist competition between our republic and Soviet Belorussia and between the cities of our republic and of Latvia and Estonia; by the strengthening of friendly ties with the working people of Gorkiy, Orel and other oblasts in the Russian Federation, and with military units.

Comrades! The press, radio and television are now participating more objectively in the search for solutions to a number of questions pertaining to intensification of patriotic and internationalist training. Quite a few articles have been published that have provoked a broad positive response from the public. But we should also not remain silent concerning the unprincipled position of certain editors with regard to such articles. Under the guise of expanding glasnost these editors are actually nullifying much that has been achieved by the working people of our republic in economic and cultural development since the establishment of Soviet power; they are

preaching ethnic exclusivity and narrow-mindedness. The Lithuanian CP Propaganda and Agitation Department, party gorkoms and raykoms and each one of us should examine more closely the reasons for this and aid objectively in the restructuring of the mass media, so that they will become an effective weapon of ideological renewal.

One highly important task of party organizations has been and remains ensuring that the administrative staff of cadres in party, state and economic organs more fully reflects the ethnic structure. However, in cadre matters as well not everything has been thought through thoroughly, and the ethnic composition of the cadre structure by no means everywhere corresponds to the ethnic composition of the city's population. The party gorkom should work more persistently to correct these disproportions in cadre matters and in the ranks of the party organization. But in no event should this be done hastily or mechanically, much less for the sake of a pretty figure in a report. In this respect the main criterion should be people's business and political qualities and their attitude toward restructuring.

**Speech by K. V. Zaletskas, first secretary of the  
Vilnius Party Gorkom**

*18000342a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
6 May 88 pp 2-3*

[Speech by K. V. Zaletskas, first secretary of the Vilnius Party Gorkom, at the 11th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee held 5 May 1988 in Vilnius: "On the Work of the Vilnius City Party Organizations To Intensify Public Ideological-Class, Internationalist and Patriotic Education in the Wake of the Decisions of the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpts] Comrades! Today a matter has been submitted for consideration by this Central Committee plenum that is of particular significance under conditions of ideological restructuring. In a speech at the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed the importance of the nationalities question at the present stage. For today being patriots of our Fatherland means being fighters for restructuring. This has been fully confirmed in a PRAVDA editorial entitled "The Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Thinking and Actions," which appeared on 5 April 1988; we approve completely of that article. Our city party committee sets itself the task of informing every primary party organization and every communist of the ideas and recommendations which it contained. Quite frankly, not all primary party organizations have a proper appreciation of the political significance of work with regard to internationalist and patriotic education. Our party gorkom and raykoms still lack a clear-cut system of organization in that work. And attempts to draw up various plans of measures without

proper analysis, often to the detriment of real work with real people, or efforts to resolve these problems through various window-dressing actions merely worsen the situation.

CPSU Central Committee resolutions, as well as the series of measures drawn up by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee for the purpose of intensifying ideological-class, internationalist and atheistic educational work with the people of our republic, provided the impetus for more in-depth analysis of the processes that are occurring in the realm of nationalities relations.

Our party gorkom, in conjunction with the Institute of Sociology of our republic Academy of Sciences and the Interrepublic Vilnius Branch of the Institute of Scientific Atheism under the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, has drawn up a research plan. Sociological studies have been done at educational institutions on the influence of bourgeois propaganda on students and schoolchildren, and at industrial enterprises on problems of the culture of interethnic relations. The overwhelming majority of responses expressed the opinion that all nations and nationalities live under equal conditions in our city, that working people have a positive attitude toward radical economic reform, and that they can feel the stimulating effects of democratization and glasnost. The questionnaires also contained requests that republic publishing houses expand their output of literature in national languages, as well as textbooks in the languages of the ethnic groups residing in our republic. After analyzing the material gathered in the course of this study we have a clearer understanding of our tasks. The first steps have been taken. But I would like to address two points. Firstly, we must admit that sociological studies have still not become such a widespread practice on the part of party raykoms and primary party organizations as we would like. We are also not using in a satisfactory manner the positive experience which we already have in this area. Furthermore, assistance to party organizations in finding solutions to current problems of internationalist and patriotic education on the part of scientists has been obviously inadequate; the latter's contribution could and should be more substantial.

Of course, our party gorkom, raykoms and primary party organizations should not sit idly by, waiting passively until the theoretical research has been completed and practical experience generalized. Our job is to take action now. Yet at the same time we hope that the establishment of a special sector in the Central Committee and a problem council on matters of internationalism and ethnic relations under the Academy of Sciences Presidium will enable us to utilize all the powers of scientists, the creative intelligentsia and the mass media and to speed up development of new approaches and scientifically based practical recommendations.

Labor collectives are the principal centers for internationalist and patriotic education. It is there that people of various nations and nationalities work together and

interact on a daily basis; it is there that social activism and a sense of responsibility for one's enterprise take shape and develop. There are many examples of collectives having a positive influence on workers. This influence is especially palpable at enterprises in our city like the Construction Finishing Machines Plant (P. Shulus, director, and A. Talochka, party organization secretary), the Radio Measurement Instruments Plant (O. Burdenko and A. Golozov) and the Plasta Plant (A. Grishkayavichyus and G. Andryunas). For example, members of 24 nationalities work in the collective of the Fuel Apparatus Plant (A. Didzhyulis, general director, and A. Chirkin, secretary). This fact is reflected in elections to labor collective councils at the plant and its subdepartments, and in the process of cadre promotion and assignment. There are several amateur art and performance groups at the plant; through their creative work they demonstrate and promote the achievements of national cultures. But, of course, most important of all is the manifestation of people's internationalist and patriotic feelings in their work activity. The collective is connected by production ties with over 100 cities in our country; its products are shipped to every union republic and 20 foreign countries. And the plant's workers have never deceived anyone: their shipments arrive on time and their goods are of high quality.

I would like to direct your attention to one timely aspect. We have felt it especially keenly of late. Shortcomings in the organization of trade, shortcomings in efforts to supply the public with certain food products and ecological problems have all given rise to various rumors among some city residents and to the incorrect idea that supposedly union-wide interests take precedence over the needs of the people of our republic, to manifestations of what one could call "household" nationalism. We must self-critically acknowledge that this results primarily from poor work by the party gorkom, raykoms, primary party organizations and heads of labor collectives. We have not always swiftly and convincingly informed city residents of the groundlessness of these rumors; we have not yet learned how to propagandize the mutual benefits of economic and cultural ties with other republics. I feel that in this regard we could receive more assistance from our republic television, radio and press, which could provide more expressive and, more importantly, more up-to-date and objective information concerning the true state of affairs and about problems in various aspects of our lives.

The effectiveness of internationalist and patriotic education is directly proportional to new thinking on the part of ideological cadres and the ideological aktiv, to the overall level and quality of ideological educational work. Unfortunately, in this respect as well many serious shortcomings remain.

Restructuring of educational work both within labor collectives and at people's places of residence is proceeding with intolerable slowness.

Party organizations must not forget that our city is located in a zone of good reception of broadcasting by foreign radio stations, which have of late placed particular emphasis on activation of nationalistic sentiments and religious extremism. One fiction after another is disseminated—about "Russification," about the incorrectness or the supposed violence of Lithuania's choice of a path in 1940, about infringement on the economy and culture of the Baltic republics, or other fabrications. It must be stated frankly that sometimes bourgeois propaganda strikes a chord with some politically immature citizens. The anti-Soviet gathering of 23 August 1987 showed that we have not yet eradicated the social basis of nationalism, to which we formerly did not devote sufficient attention. And as a result the party gorkom and raykoms did not perform adequately as organs of political leadership in the aforementioned situation.

Our ideological aktiv has proven unprepared to conduct an open polemic with our ideological adversaries. The party has given a fair evaluation of our work to counter this provocation. We ourselves have also thoroughly examined our actions. After analyzing the errors made, we have done active organizational and educational work with the people of the city and trained our aktiv in polemics. In February of this year the intrigues of imperialist propaganda surrounding the anniversary of the promulgation of the act of "independence" of bourgeois Lithuania were properly rebuffed. However, we would be wrong to become complacent. Our party aktiv is still not master of the methodology of working with the masses and is not sufficiently familiar with Marxist-Leninist theory on the nationalities question and certain stages in the history of our land. For our ideological adversary does not intend to lay down his weapons, retreat or renounce his hostile plans in the future. This means that we must work more actively to instill in the party, soviet and Komsomol aktiv the skills needed to conduct counterpropaganda, political discussions and sharp polemics. This is our goal for the near future. In addition, we deem it advisable to reevaluate the system for training propagandists and specialists at the Vilnius Higher Party School and other VUZs in our republic, working to ensure that each graduate has a good mastery of the methodology of educational work. As for the mass media, we would like to hope that their opposition to views that are alien to socialist society and their efforts to unmask ideological diversions will be of a systematic and purposeful nature, rather than being planned merely to coincide with various dates and events. On the other hand, articles should also be fair and mature, for there have been many times when the opposite has been true.

Our city party organizations are not ensuring complete unity of internationalist and atheistic educational work, and are losing sight of individualized work. As a result, recently the city has experienced a marked increase in clerical extremism and illegal sect activity and an increase in the number of adherents to religious-mystical doctrines. Undoubtedly this is a consequence of our



premature complacency with regard to the introduction of socialist rituals and the development of the requisite material basis for doing so. Now the space on Olandu Street used for the provision of ritual services has been expanded, preparations are being made for the construction of a new building in Karvelishkes Rayon, and the question of whether to build a separate Palace of Naming Ceremonies is under consideration. However, this is obviously inadequate for Vilnius. The party gorkom and gorispolkom have set themselves the task of making more complete and more correct use of a number of buildings and facilities which are historical monuments and which are of value for our culture. We cannot fail to notice that use of these buildings as warehouses evokes a negative response on the part of many city residents. We must self-critically acknowledge that not a single museum or concert hall has been opened in these buildings recently, although one-half of all buildings in those categories are in a dilapidated state. Unfortunately, when attempting to renovate them city organs do not always receive proper sympathy and support from the heads of the Lithuanian Consumers' Union, the Ministry of Culture and certain other republic departments.

We are also keenly aware of the negative effect that the unsatisfactory pace of work in the Old City has on national sentiments, and we have no excuse for the slowness of archaeological exploration. All this is resulting in the destruction or damage of historical and architectural monuments, our national pride. Furthermore, people are upset by the lack of timeliness and objectivity in information relative to work planned or in progress. Yet we feel that the unjustifiably critical and at times sensational and scathing appraisals of the work of city officials appearing in some newspapers do not do anything to help the situation. They arouse the public and stir up unnecessary emotions. We need criticism which is fair and which takes into consideration all sides of a problem, including an objective appraisal of financial, material and other capabilities.

However, we would like to request that the republic government have a more decisive influence on the appropriate departments and require them to take effective measures to strengthen and develop the material-technical basis of all planning, repair and construction organizations, especially the Litrestavratsiya Trust and the Monument Restoration Planning Institute, and to increase allocations for the restoration of historical sites in our city. Over the past two years resolutions have been passed on these matters, but those resolutions are being carried out in an unsatisfactory manner.

It is heartening to note that recently there has been an increase in social activism on the part of our city's creative intelligentsia. Its voice in defense of the environment and on acute problems pertaining to clarification of the historical path of the Lithuanian people has met with public response and approval and deserves our gratitude. However, we cannot close our eyes to distortions, to the fact that some creative workers go to

extremes or else without proper knowledge of the true state of affairs make use of superficial argumentation in their assessment of ecological, demographic and other problems.

Unfortunately, the party organizations of creative unions often remove themselves from the debate and take a passive stance, or else a waiting stance, instead of giving a thorough and partylike evaluation of such statements. In our opinion this applies primarily to the party organizations of the Union of Writers and the Union of Artists. We feel that Lithuanian CP Central Committee departments should also devote more attention to the work of creative unions' party organizations.

On the other hand, the lack of closer contacts with authoritative specialists in various fields and city leaders is obviously also having an effect on the resolution of various problems. Realizing this, the party gorkom and gorispolkom have recently introduced the practice of meeting with journalists, artists and writers. There also exist well proven, tested, traditional forms of cooperation. A "Poetry Spring" is conducted in conjunction with the Union of Writers, and a press festival in conjunction with the Union of Journalists. The Union of Artists assists with preparations for open-air exhibits; the philharmonic and theaters cooperate with labor collectives and educational institutions. However, we realize that not all these forms have had their fullest possible effect, and that untapped resources still remain.

Regarding the specific contribution of the creative intelligentsia to our city's political and cultural life, above all we would like to direct its efforts toward more active participation in carrying out the city's social imperatives. To a certain degree this is a manifestation of real, practical patriotism.

On the other hand, many cultural institutions are losing sight of the issues of public internationalist and patriotic training; the forms and content of their work are not in step with today's requirements. Specifically, the work of some amateur clubs and special interest associations are not sufficiently oriented in this direction. Often their activities are unsupervised, leading to politicization of some groups. To a large extent the attraction of young people to such groups is the result of a superficial attitude on the part of soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs toward the problems that exist in this milieu. Undoubtedly party organizations are also to blame for this. Although joint measures that have been taken have succeeded in directing enthusiasm for soccer, for instance, into a more organized channel and drawing up a more clear-cut, specific program for the functioning of some amateur groups, quite a few problems still persist in work with young people. Thus, for example, trips by soccer fans to other cities have become better organized. But did we, the sponsors of these matches, give any thought to who pays for these young people to go, where the money comes from, and what effect the trip has on their work and studies? Are we not in this manner raising

young snobs and parasites who will in the end value their own pleasure above labor and study? There are still many other questions as well in work with young people. We regard substantial improvement of party leadership of the Komsomol as our task.

Comrades! A person's world view takes shape in childhood. In this respect much depends on the example set by parents and teachers, on their ability to instill in young citizens in a simple and comprehensible manner respect for other peoples and a love for their multiethnic Motherland. Therefore the party gorkom and its buro devote constant attention to the work of educational institutions and to increasing the effectiveness of work by their primary party organizations. Meetings of party gorkom and raykom members with instructors, teachers of the social sciences, classroom leaders, schoolchildren and students have been put on a systematic basis. Recommendations concerning improvement of patriotic education of students and schoolchildren have been prepared with broad input from scientists and educators.

However, we must acknowledge that restructuring of the work of party organizations and educational organs in light of the requirements of the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is still proceeding too slowly in our city. Many local opportunities for instilling patriotism and internationalism remain unutilized. The "blank spots" in textbooks concerning events in the distant and recent history of our people and the hushing up or cursory treatment of those events continue to create many difficulties with regard to the formation of a correct world view among schoolchildren and students. And the contribution of social science instructors to research and a scientific, honest explanation of the historical past has been less than modest.

We need a more in-depth approach, and that means more painstaking, reliably developed programs for the teaching of the special course entitled "Nationalities Relations in the USSR" and the elective course "Soviet Lithuania in the Fraternal Family of Soviet Peoples." Students are in serious need of textbooks and other books on the history of their native land. We feel that the contribution of writers, journalists and art historians in this respect could be greater.

The party gorkom is concerned by the fact that some students continue to maintain a socially unhealthy interest in and to imitate "punks," "metalists," "hippies" and the so-called pacifists; this is the result, quite frankly, of adulation of the Western lifestyle. These groups are exerting a negative influence on the world view of some young people and teenagers, prompting some of them to commit antisocial acts. Party organizations, especially those at educational institutions, are not analyzing and influencing deeply enough the process of ideological, moral and political education of students. Frequently we encounter blatant underestimation of the political danger that can result from the activities of this type of groups and informal associations.

We must admit with all frankness that the party's buro, gorkom and raykoms have been unable to raise their political leadership in the realm of education of children and young people to a modern level or to penetrate deeply into the content of work by educational institutions and competently, swiftly and thoroughly resolve their problems.

Comrades! The multiethnic composition of our city's population and the presence here of various ethnic groups require that the social and spiritual needs of each group be met and that a well-planned language policy be pursued. The Lithuanian CP Central Committee is creating favorable conditions for doing so. Recently the party's gorkom and raykoms and the gorispolkom have been attempting to keep sight of these aspects constantly and insofar as possible to compensate for past omissions. Today our city has an acclaimed Jewish People's Theater that has given guest performances outside of our republic. The Polish musical group "Viliya," which has received an award from the Polish People's Republic, is well known, as are a number of other unique, interesting ethnic amateur art and performance collectives. The Planeta Movie Theater demonstrated good initiative by starting to show movies from the Polish People's Republic. A bookstore has been opened in Vilnius where one can obtain books in the languages of the peoples of the USSR.

However, group requests received by the gorkom are evidence that the problem of meeting the spiritual needs of various ethnic groups remains as acute as ever. Obviously we must work more resolutely to open up the bottlenecks that still persist.

Of course, there are also difficulties in this respect, primarily of an economic nature, and we must overcome these. Within the city there are still undiscovered mass grave sites, and these should be put in order in the near future. We must think about how best to immortalize the memory of active participants in the revolutionary movement, the military units that liberated our city, and well-known figures in literature and the arts from the various ethnic groups. It is high time for us to settle the issue of erecting a monument to F. Dzerzhinskiy, a question that has dragged on for too long already, and also to organize memorial exhibitions in honor of such outstanding members of fraternal cultures as T. Shevchenko, Ya. Raynis, Yu. Slovatskiy, Ya. Kolas and Ya. Kupala. What is more, it is time to pool the efforts of all the appropriate departments and make the Museum of Friendship Among the Peoples of the USSR a reality.

In recent years our city party organizations have devoted greater attention to improving the study of Lithuanian as our republic's basic language, and also to improving mastery of Russian as the means of interethnic communication in our country.

Attention is being devoted to the teaching of Lithuanian in schools where Russian and Polish are the languages of instruction, as students of those schools have a poor knowledge of the language of the people of the republic where they live. However, in the process problems have arisen with regard to the training of teachers in this subject; we, the party gorkom, must solve those problems as quickly as possible in conjunction with the Ministry of Education and the Teachers' Advanced Training Institute.

Our city is taking steps to improve the overall language situation among the public. Lithuanian courses have been organized for persons in many professions, particularly those in the fields of health care, consumer services, trade and the Ministry of Internal Affairs system. The number of persons studying Lithuanian has increased by a factor of three. However, for many years now both instructors and students have encountered the same problems: lack of a specialized textbook for such courses, lack of dictionaries, conversational workbooks and methodological literature. We urgently request that our republic State Committee for Printing, Publishing Houses and the Book Trade speed up resolution of these problems.

Mastery of Russian is no problem in the city, but in this respect as well it would be wrong to become complacent.

Today we can take pride in the fact that young men of Lithuanian ethnicity inducted into the ranks of the Soviet Army do not sense a language barrier, that children learn their first speech habits from specialized educators rather than through street slang. The party gorkom will continue to devote unflagging attention to improvement of the study of both Lithuanian and Russian.

The party gorkom is striving persistently and consistently to solve the problem of how to achieve equality among members of various ethnic groups when elective organs are chosen and the city's entire cadre potential shaped. However, we have still not succeeded in avoiding distortions and omissions, sometimes of a serious nature.

The party gorkom and raykoms, taking into account the demands of restructuring, broad democracy, glasnost and electability of leaders, is developing new methods and approaches in its work with cadres in the nomenklatura and in the reserve pool of such cadres. The primary criteria in workers' selection now are their business and political qualities and their attitude toward restructuring.

Ethnic composition is not always taken into consideration in the selection of administrative personnel at individual enterprises and offices in our city. At times this is ascribed to the language which has been traditionally used in the document flow of a given collective, or to

the specific nature of young specialists' training. However, an analysis done by us revealed the complete groundlessness of these excuses. Specifically, we reached this conclusion based on the experience of two major collectives in our city: the main enterprise of the Lithuanian Sigma Production Association (A. Chuplinskas, general director, and A. Karalyus, party committee secretary) and the Radio Measurement Devices Research Institute (V. Starikov, director, and A. Vasilyev, party committee secretary), where diametrically opposed tendencies have developed with regard to the ethnic composition of administrative personnel. This situation must be corrected.

The requirements of socialist internationalism have also not been complied with fully in regard to regulation of growth in the ranks of our city party organization. It includes members of 53 nationalities. However, its composition does not coincide with that of the population. The reinterpretation of previous practices of party membership selection and training require that we devote more careful attention to this matter, and has pointed up the acuteness and timeliness of certain criteria in our work which have been neglected by us in the past.

Comrades! There is no doubt that our city party organization has everything it needs to increase the effectiveness of public internationalist and patriotic training. Now we are setting ourselves the goals of developing a well-planned, comprehensive system, rendering substantial and continuous assistance to primary party organizations, consulting with communists, strengthening our ties with the working people, knowing their moods and needs and resolving social problems better. On the other hand, we plan to raise the level of responsibility of the gorkom buro, party raykoms, first secretaries and administrators at all levels with regard to the study and resolution of these problems, because at the present time their role in resolving nationalities problems has been somewhat neglected.

12825

**BSSR Supreme Soviet Outlines Plans for Far-Reaching Administrative, Personnel Cuts**  
*18000355 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
*19 Apr 88 p 2*

[Article by N. Matukovskiy: "Common Sense Wins: Notes from a Session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Only one issue was discussed at the 9th session of the BSSR Supreme Soviet, namely, the general outline of the republican national economy management. The session was expected and carefully prepared. This is understandable: its subject is a drastic change from administrative methods of management to the mainly economic ones and the wide democratization of the management.

The present management system based on rigid centralism, and directive planning and financing, became a serious obstacle for economic development of the republic. The speaker, Chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministries M. Kovalev, and deputies participated in the discussions confirmed it using convincing facts. . . The rate of national income had sharply declined. Rates of growth in industry and agriculture had fallen. Naturally, all this had negatively influenced the well-being of the people. In spite of the fact that during the 17th five-year plan period we managed to half this decline, it became obvious that the old system of economic management has exhausted its possibilities. The administrative personnel grew excessively in size like mushrooms after rain, and different offices increased their personnel. For each 6 - 7 working persons there is one "man with a spoon", that is, an administrator. And all of them were eager to show that they are necessary by issuing thousands of instructions, directives, and orders. Managers of enterprises could not take a step independently. Initiative became a punishable act.

Recently, 364 directives of the republican government level and almost 13,000(!) departmental instructions and orders were canceled. However, this is only the beginning of radical changes. The republic has more than 50 ministries employing almost 8,000 people. **The Council of Ministers introduced for approval of the session a proposal to liquidate 11 administrative bodies at the Republican level. Among those to be abolished, 5 ministries and departments, 5 State Committees, and 3 Main Authorities of the Council of Ministers.** The structure of other ministries and departments will be simplified. It is proposed to reduce the central apparatus by 3.8 thousand people, that is, to cut the personnel by half.

How will it look in reality? . . . For example, the Ministry of local industries has 17 structural divisions employing 144 persons. Of these only 7 offices and 80 people will remain. A decision is made to abolish the presently existing Ministry of fuel industry and the State Committee for gasification. Here also the number of employees will be cut by half.

The reorganization of the agroindustrial complex took place in 1985. Five ministries and several intermediate and parallel administrative bodies were abolished. In spite of that this agroprom apparatus remains cumbersome and continues to operate using orders. One example: agroprom offices requested the enterprises provide in excess of required accounting data on 64 forms containing 113,000 entries. How many man-days were lost performing this futile, meaningless work! The general outline discussed at the session contemplates the reduction of structural divisions to two-thirds of existing now and the number of employees to 53 percent of the present number. The republican management bodies will retain the functions of managing only the main, perspective, and problem issues of social-economic development and scientific-technical policy of organizing the training and retraining of personnel. The rest of the

activities will be transferred to the oblast and rayon level. It is scheduled to transform RAPO into new in principle enterprises, agricultural combines, and production association directed at the final results.

However, already the first facts of the started restructuring alarm by the persistent resistance to changes. For example, during the organization of the agricultural combine Zapadnyy Bug the administrative and management apparatus was actually increased rather than reduced. The Molodecho combine and Zhlobin association are trying to do the same. It was no accident that in the lobby people repeatedly quoted words from a poem by A. Tvardovskiy: "In other words, to reduce we must increase. . .".

The following numbers were brought to attention at the session: in Minsk oblast there are 31 office workers per agricultural enterprise, in Brest oblast this number is 36, and in Grodno oblast 38. Those are the additional workers our agriculture needs so much.

The first step in order to improve the economics and management system are made in the construction complex. However, even here it is scheduled to reduce the number of structural divisions to 40 percent of the present one, and the size of the central apparatus of construction ministries and departments almost by half. It is decided to organize one Ministry of Transport based on organizations and enterprises of the present Ministry of Automotive Transport and Main Authority of River Transport. The organizational structure of the Ministry of Communications is simplified. Serious changes are scheduled in the management of the whole socio-cultural complex. For example, instead of the Ministry of Education, and the Committee of Professional Education, one Ministry of People's Education is being formed, which will have only 47 percent of the present number of employees. The central apparatus of the Ministry of Health Care is being reduced and many of its functions are being transferred to the oblast and rayon level.

For many years the name of the BSSR State Committee of Cinematography was notorious. How one could invent something like that: a whole ministry for 2 studios, one making fictions and one producing documentaries, with the scenario of each fiction film to be approved in Moscow anyway. Now, there will be an independent authority based on full cost accounting and included into the system of the Ministry of Culture. Finally, common sense has won.

There will be significant reductions in the apparatus of the ministries of trade, communal services, housing and utilities, and Goskomizdat. The main authorities for foreign tourism and for archives will be abolished. At the same time with the reduction of the central apparatus of the BSSR Union of cooperatives, unjustifiably liquidated consumer societies are being restored in 47 rayons.



The general outline of management of the national economy approved at the session includes also a restructuring at the oblast level. There were 234 managing bodies in the oblasts of which will remain 180 managing divisions. The structure at rayon and town levels will be brought to a conformance with the new structure of republican and oblast bodies.

The changes also affected the republican Gosplan. Its structure will be shaped as large complexes under direct management of the Gosplan chairman's deputies. This will allow us to abolish the branch-by-branch approach in planning which was often an obstacle before.

The total is as follows: as a result in restructuring of the organizational structure of the national economy management more than 26,000 people will be freed from the apparatus. Each of them must necessarily receive a job according with qualifications and experience. . .

13355

**Partiynaya Zhizn Recommends Use of Computers in Party Work**

18000328 Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
No 7 Apr 88 signed to press 22 Mar 88 pp 53-55

[Article by A.Karalus, Party Committee Secretary, "Sigma" industrial concern, from Vilnius: "A Computer Instead of a Card File;" last paragraph is a boldface editorial comment]

[Text] The primary level of the party organization at our concern comprises more than twenty factory shop units. In nearly all of them, as they recently met to discuss the party buro's report on its leadership of the perestroika effort, a concern was voiced over my work: "You should come visit us more frequently, Comrade Secretary," people said.

Party members had a point there: of course I should visit them more frequently. Working exclusively out of one's office is incompatible with perestroika. In part, it is my fault that I have not been visiting working collectives and talking to people at their workplace as frequently as I could. But on the other hand, the routine work is an impediment: preparation of various papers takes up an enormous amount of time. This unfortunately is also a reality that keeps a party official in his office against his will.

Here is one example. When I took over from my predecessor, I counted fully fifty two heavy folders of various resolutions, records, reports and memos. These papers have to be constantly brought up to date and added to.

Recently, however, there have been changes for the better. I do not see in it my own merit, which is why I am glad to report this without fearing to be accused of lack of modesty. The situation has improved mainly because electronics have come to our aid. It is by computerizing

office work, it seems to me, that the number of incoming and outgoing papers can be reduced and much time saved; the party committee work can thereby be made more efficient. This will help eliminate a nasty practice when to expedite the preparation of various papers we had to transfer party workers, managers and professionals away from their main activities. It is not a secret that the large volume of red tape often forces party managers to keep on the party committee payroll so-called "snow flowers," or nonessential employees.

Our party organization has accumulated some experience working with computers. At the concern's flagship plant, the Vilnius Factory of Computing Equipment imeni V.I.Lenin, a system of automatic document preparation control (ASKIRD) has been implemented. As a result, the party committee is now able to use the data bank of the plant's computer center. Using this system we are able to monitor constantly and quickly the implementation of all party committee resolutions and plans of activities.

Last April, the party committee passed a resolution calling for increased effectiveness of patriotic and internationalist education and improved relations between employees of different Union nationalities. This is an important question, since we have representatives of more than ten nationalities working for us. All the points of the resolution have to be implemented by May 1988. In January, we wanted to find out the current status of the activities. To do this, we no longer needed to sift through and analyze piles of paper or to disturb employees of various departments of the concern. The computer quickly performed the job, produced a special program and simultaneously identified areas where the plans have not yet been carried out.

The advantage of automated control over one based on the use of usual file cards lies in its timeliness, precision, ease of use, and in freeing many employees from additional responsibilities related to the collection and preparation of various information.

Some data can not be input into the general computer since it contains information that concern only the work of the party organization. This is why the next step that we are undertaking now is to introduce the use of personal computers.

At the end of last year the party committee got a personal computer Robotron 1715. Its technical capabilities are not that great, but with its help we are hoping to greatly improve the daily life of the party: to reduce further the labor intensiveness of paperwork, to simplify the process of planning party committee activities, and to input all information about party members into the memory, calling it up on the display screen whenever necessary.

Today, we can already begin to sum up the results of computerization of our work. For instance, every year we submit to the party raykom the so-called passport of

the concern's primary party organization. It contains such data as party membership, its age, social and educational characteristics and so on.

Only last year to prepare such a passport took approximately two weeks. The work required the participation of party members in the personnel department and other areas. Now, all the data is quickly input into the memory, and to make up this year's passport we needed only ten minutes. And it was done by just one person.

We expect the personal computer to become our good assistant in many undertakings. After we have input into its memory all the data contained in the card file, we could quickly, precisely and at any time call up the information on the qualitative and quantitative makeup of shop party organizations or lists of employees to be put up for party membership. An electronic device can help us remember all the plans and schedules of party studies, classes of the economic education program, joint political education days, etc. Of course everyone who works on the computer has to go through a special training process.

Naturally, like any other new undertaking, the introduction of computer technology into party work entails certain difficulties and problems. If we are talking about material and technical aspects of it, here the solution in a large measure depends on economic managers of an enterprise or a concern, on their ability to think forward and on their desire to work in a new way.

In general, the likelihood of obtaining personal computers and video equipment has increased lately, although here there are still many difficulties. Difficulties also exist in such areas as training of qualified specialist and in programing. Another impediment is a psychological barrier: it is the lack of belief on the part of some party and economic employees, as well as those who work with party committees' documents.

Still, these and some other problem are local in character, and if we have the will, we will find a way to solve them. On the other hand, there are some problems that concern the routine of party work that has been developed over many decades and that is founded on the principle of paper creation. This is the principle that computer technology does not want to accept.

Let us look, for instance, at how the implementation of party committee resolutions is monitored. If a resolution has been carried out a set number of papers has to be prepared, a report detailing the work done on every point of the resolution has to be submitted to the raykom and enclosed with the records. This has to be done by human beings, since there can never be full automation of control over the implementation of directives.

Let me mention another fact. A year ago, at the plenum of the rayon party committee which discussed the restructuring of personnel work, our organization was

criticized because we had been poorly organizing the elections of managers. The criticism was legitimate and we have done quite a lot to improve our personnel work. Now, the time has come to prepare reports to the raykom detailing what was it exactly that we did and how the unsatisfactory aspects of our work are being improved. But the computer has not learned yet how to write reports. Consequently, we must call upon the appropriate employees of the concern and tear them away from their main activities. Afterwards, the reports will be put into the files and stored in the archives.

In just one year, there will be more than one, and even more than ten such resolutions and criticisms, which means that we would have to make the requisite number of reports, and submit them to many organizational levels.

Of course records of party gatherings and party committee meetings, work plans and other documents are important. My point is that they should be of use to those who works with them. But even now a great number of documents is being prepared and stored for the use of those who monitor our work. What they often monitor is not the work of the party committee or a party organization itself but the state of paperwork. If the report on the implementation of a resolution has been prepared, they are happy; if there is no report, they are not, even though the work has been done.

Electronics and computers allow us to form a judgement about the work of a party organization both quickly and objectively. Moreover, the people who monitor our activity will have time to talk to the people at working collectives, and to report their conclusions orally.

Why wouldn't we do so at places where computers have already been introduced? Why do we trust paper more than a human word? It is a case of inertia, people either not wanting or not being able to work in a new way. The party network and monitoring organization still have not created a system that would motivate their employees to change the style and methods of their work and to champion more actively new technology such as data processing equipment and computers.

Existing staffing and organizational structures still permit many of our party committees to do without new work methods and means at their workplace. As long as there remain unnecessary desks with telephones atop, there will always be people at those desks who strive to justify their salaries: they will always demand reports, records and a great quantity of various information.

Computer technology and personal computers will help party workers to free themselves from the red tape and their bureaucratic habits. This is a true meaning of perestroika.

A broad utilization of means of automation and computers in party work seems to be an important factor in raising the effectiveness of such work. By publishing this article, the editors would like to solicit readers' help in continuing to discuss the subjects raised by its author.

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12892

## **ZARYA VOSTOKA Comments on Jobless Party Members Refusing Employment**

### **Party Members Refuse Employment**

18300242 [Editorial report] Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian on 9 April carries an 800-word article by ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent Amiram Mitagvariya describing cases of jobless party members who have refused to accept offers of employment. Following the article is a 400-word response from the ZARYA VOSTOKA editorial staff.

#### **ZARYA VOSTOKA Comment**

18300242 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian  
9 Apr 88 pp 2

[Editorial commentary]

[Text] Why is a party member not working? Every specific case has its own answer to the question. The party member was dismissed from his post and is trying to get the case reviewed, reinstatement to his previous post. He left by his own volition but then could not find a suitable job. He is under investigation. He was let go because of reduction in force. Whatever the answer, however, one thing is certain: no one, especially a party member, has the right to shun socially useful labor. Especially when people try to meet him halfway and offer him suitable work.

That is frequently where the snag is, incidentally: let's say the party raykom may think a particular post really is suitable, but the man to whom it is offered often does not see it that way at all.

D. Labadze, a dispatcher at the Zestafoni Rayon Communications Center, was let go last December on the basis of reduction in force. He was offered a job in the Shorapani Communications Department but he refused; he was offered the post of deputy director of Secondary School No 2 in Zestafoni, and again refused. T. Kapanadze, formerly head of the political department in the Zestafoni Railroad Station, was dismissed from his post

in connection with the disclosure of serious shortcomings. Not in agreement with the decision, he wrote an appeal to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Party Control Commission. T. Kapanadze was unhappy with the results of the investigation of his case, and just as unhappy with the raykom buro's suggestion that he take a job in the housing administration of the railroad station. In October of last year the republic's Local Industry Ministry dismissed S. Areshidze, the director of the Terzhola Machine Shop. The party member was offered two options—to take a job as a technologist in the champagne factory or to become the head of the rayon's Automobile Society. He did not consent to either of these proposals.

It must be said, however, that there are cases when a party member who has left his job for various reasons apparently comes to be needed by no one. He is forgotten even by the primary party organization, which is concerned only about one thing: receiving party dues. It sometimes happens that the fate of a party member who is out of work does not even concern the raykom which itself sometimes takes a decision directly affecting the fate of a man and his family. Party member A. Potskhverashvili, also of Terzhola Rayon, is out of work; formerly he held the post of chief mechanic in the facing tile plant. No one is helping him find a job. G. Zedginidze was offered the job of chief agronomist on the Ani village kolkhoz in Akhaltsikhe Rayon. Anything wrong with that? The job is in his specialty. But this party member refused, and not without rather substantial reasons: he would have to travel more than 30 kilometers to work, and that, you have to agree, would not be very convenient for an agronomist, who often has to go out into the fields very early and leave late. "Under such conditions I could not work at full efficiency," G. Zedginidze said, and there should be no one in the raykom who would find fault with that. But why knowingly offer such an unsuitable job? Just to have something to offer? Later, in fact, our correspondent was told by people in the raykom that they could have offered him a job on another farm closer by. So why didn't they?

We reiterate: in each specific case it is essential to investigate why a party member is not working; it is necessary to examine all aspects of the case, hear the opinion of the raykom or gorkom and the person who is idle either by choice or had it forced upon him. A healthy and able-bodied party member who is not working is an unhealthy phenomenon. And it should be of primary concern to the local party leadership and, of course, the party member himself. But the local press also, obviously, should focus attention on this matter.

06854

**Georgian Readers Discuss 'Andreyeva Letter,'  
History, Glasnost, Restructuring**  
*18300261 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian*  
*17 Apr 88 p 2*

[Letters from readers, under the rubric "Candid Discussion": "We Are Responsible for the Future"; first six paragraphs are unattributed source introduction.]

[Text] When the April wind started blowing, some people threw their windows open wide, while others pulled the blinds more tightly shut. A Herculean clean-up began, and our apartment building came to life and started stirring under the onslaught of cleanliness and light. But the doors of some "apartments" remained closed with a lock fashioned by an ironsmith. Knock, and you won't get in. However, a life of its own flowed on behind the ironclad doors. But it is stifling behind the blinds and the locks, and it is getting increasingly hard to breathe. And outside the window, all you have to do is peek through a crack and the rain splashes you with its coolness, or the sun pours in with its warmth. You go out in the light, and it will hurt your eyes. There is, however, a way out: You can look through dark glasses.

The light hurts the eyes of those who are accustomed to darkness. A person whose lungs have been sustained by musty air has his breath taken away by the freshness. That is precisely why people are writhing convulsively: Return the past!

But no, the past must not be returned—all the dark corners must be opened to the light. Let everyone see: the past—the black, terrifying part of our past—is clutching convulsively at the present, as though it wants to detain it and pull it back, to find new life by infusing itself with fresh blood.

That is how many people—the vast majority of those who wrote the editors and expressed their opinion—understand N. Andreyeva's article that was published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. "An ideological platform, a manifesto by the antirestructuring forces"—those words from the PRAVDA editorial, "The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Actions," were repeated in a substantial portion of the letters as the most accurate characterization of the conservative, dogmatic position of those who support socialism in words but in deeds impede its development and the utilization of its potential and are standing in the way of democracy and glasnost.

We are learning to openly and boldly express our viewpoints; we are learning to argue, disagree, debate. In acquiring skills and abilities of that sort, we are coming to understand the culture and principles of democracy. But, as was quite correctly noted in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's decree "On Organizational and Political Measures in Connection with the PRAVDA Editorial, 'The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Actions,'" it

is necessary to master the art of conducting a dialogue in a cogent fashion and to provide for the carefully considered and constructive nature of polemics and debates. Facts must not be replaced by the juggling of facts, or logic—by artificial constructs. The truth of history is the point of departure for all opinions. This truth does not exist and cannot exist in N. Andreyeva's article, since she looks at past history through rose-colored glasses and at present history through dark glasses intended to keep out the sun.

We offer readers some of the letters the editors have received. They are not just responses to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article and the PRAVDA editorial, but also reflections on the fate of changes, on moral appraisals of the past and the present, and on restructuring, for which everyone today is responsible.

**We Are Connected With Our History and, Therefore,  
Will Always Subject It to Moral Judgment**

In a situation of glasnost and democracy, many contradictions in our society's spiritual life that were hitherto driven inward are becoming obvious. The great number of published items pertaining to the so-called "blank spots in our history," especially to the repressions of the 1930s, is evoking a mixed reaction. N. Andreyeva's article that appeared 13 March in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the principled criticism of it in the 6 April PRAVDA—criticism which in no way contradicts the principles of glasnost and the right of everyone to defend his own opinion—have become the subject of especially heated discussion. And this heatedness and the passion of various readers' reactions are perfectly natural. And not only because this is a matter of the not-so-distant past and the Stalin personality cult is a fact in the personal biography of every representative of our country's older generation. I was born a year after Stalin's death, but I do not think that all this affects me and others who are my age to any lesser degree. The point is that the meaning and main objective of today's restructuring consist precisely in overcoming much from the legacy of those years: command-bureaucratic methods of managing society, disregard for the inner world of the individual under the banner of turning the "interest of the state as a whole" into a fetish, the lack of proper respect for the law and for people's national dignity. Any given judgment of the tragic aspects of the Stalin era reveals one's true attitude toward restructuring, socialism and the question of how we should live in the future.

As stated in the PRAVDA editorial, "The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Actions," Stalin's guilt, like the guilt of his closest entourage, before the party and the people for the mass repressions and violations of the rule of law that were committed is tremendous and unforgivable. And no one would be so bold now as to openly defend the mass repressions of 1937 and other years. What people say is something else: they talk about the "objective necessity" of extreme measures under the severe conditions of the



life of the world's first socialist state (enemy encirclement, the danger of war, etc.), conditions in which isolated "mistakes" and "excesses" were difficult to avoid and should be, if not excused, at least understood. Of course, no major phenomena in social life exist without certain objective historical preconditions, and it would be naive to attribute them to the specific features of the psychological makeup of a single person or group of people. But it is impossible not to note that acknowledgement of the "unavoidability" or even "necessity" of the period of mass terror represents nothing other than discrediting the very idea of socialism. After all, the idea of the superiority of socialism over capitalism is based on the recognition of the former system's humanistic nature and the fact that it places the human being and his needs above all else. It is difficult to imagine a more convenient argument for a foe of socialism than the "acknowledgement" that the development of the new society necessarily requires the mass sacrifice of totally innocent people.

I want to discuss one other issue, which people evidently consider too ticklish and usually try to avoid. But it is too important. I have in mind the relationship of one's attitude toward the Stalinist repressions to the fact that Stalin and his closest aide Beria were from Georgia. This relationship is an objective fact of public attitudes and demands to be regarded accordingly. The underestimation of it is the source of a distortion of public opinion in both our republic and outside of it. Many people have had to listen with pain and bewilderment to absurd arguments about some sort of "indulgences" that Georgia enjoyed under Stalin—indulgences based on the assumption of strong patriotic feelings on the part of the "leader of peoples." These illusions are based on a misunderstanding of the simple fact that the all-encompassing urge for personal power demands the suppression of all other human feelings. The sole advantage that Georgia enjoyed from such an "esteemed" kinship was the more "competent" and methodical extermination of its best sons and daughters. Such losses are especially severe for small nations; it is harder for them to restore the severed threads of spiritual traditions. Maybe some people will find my suggestion "subjective," but I think that many of the so-called "negative aspects" of our present-day life—the social inertia, mental laziness, individualism and ideological indifference of many people—are rooted precisely in those shocks. Recovering from that will require many years.

It is unpleasant when the problem of "Georgia and Stalin" is incorrectly raised by people of other nationalities. But it is even worse when it is turned into a fetish in the republic itself, when false patriotic feelings are added to some people's yearning for a "strong hand," and when a political figure who did his deeds far from Gori and Tbilisi is ranked together with the heroes of Georgian history, and any criticism of him is taken as a covert attack on the land where he was born. That is the result of an ignorance of history and an insufficient understanding of national feeling, a result which has led

us once already in the republic to the tragedy of 1956. (Of course, there were other reasons for it, too.) That sort of thing must not be repeated. This is an important field of activity for our intelligentsia. Only true ideals can displace false idols.—[signed] Georgiy Nodia, candidate of philosophical sciences, learned secretary of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy.

### No Turning Back

In the past three years we have become completely different. This sentence from the PRAVDA editorial, "The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Actions," immediately caused me to recall the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members, of which I was a participant. I recalled the most vivid examples of radical transformations in the economy and social sphere, and in the broad democratization of our life that were related at the congress. And how strange it was even to think that just some three years ago these examples did not exist. In any case, they were not spoken of openly, and many of them even seemed unacceptable for our way of life.

Take the lease contract. If someone had shown interest in it in the recent past, it would have been the officials of administrative agencies, who saw it as nothing more than a loophole for personal enrichment. And there could not have even been talk of the fact that that lease contract can be used as an effective means of increasing the production of agricultural products and people's stake in it. Or take the issues of the development of the cooperative movement. Everyone tried to avoid them in every way possible.

Why? It was because none of this fit within the framework of the command-administrative and bureaucratic methods of management that were engendered by the personality cult, or accorded with the atmosphere that was being created of the repression of everything that was out of the ordinary, independent and showed initiative—an atmosphere in which people were accustomed to having someone else always thinking for them!

Yet we must think for ourselves and answer for our own actions. And in my view, this is precisely the aim of the entire restructuring, the entire democratization of our life. That is the subject of the PRAVDA editorial, and I fully agree with that way of putting the issue.

That editorial, incidentally, is quite correct in stating that three years ago, when restructuring in the country was only gaining force, many people understood it and responded to it in different ways, but they were all alike in underestimating the depth of the restructuring processes, their consistency and irreversibility. And only now are we recognizing that this is serious and even unhealthy, and that it personally affects every one of us.

But there is no doubt whatsoever that we are on the right track and that there is no turning back. That is simply impossible, because behind us lies the swamp of stagnation.

To the contrary, we must proceed more decisively and boldly forward. Unfortunately, this is still not often seen. We are acting too timidly in the conditions of expanding democratization, and we are delaying in shifting to a basis of radical economic management.

Take our Lanchkhutskiy Rayon. In the past three years a good many changes have occurred there. Glasnost has taken hold, and it has become possible for people to act independently and show initiative. There is a great deal that is new in the economy and social sphere—the Aketi agrofirm is in operation, and another, the Narindzhi, was established literally the other day.

Nonetheless—Nonetheless, in my view, we are restructuring too slowly.

Take cost accounting. Now it is being introduced everywhere. However, let us say bluntly that we still have farms where people continue to take a pro forma attitude toward that very important undertaking and cannot even imagine how they will act independently and take full responsibility for their own actions.

Another thing. It is already clear to everyone that the once- progressive system of management of the rayon agroindustrial complex has become obsolete. The rayon agroindustrial associations no longer accord with today's tasks. It also sometimes happens that they act as a restraining factor in the development of democratization in the countryside and development of the independence and initiative of labor collectives.

Some of the country's rayons, including some in our republic, have already begun restructuring the management of the rayon agroindustrial complex. And we, too, should not delay.

We should learn to think in the new way. And to act in that same way. That is how the matter is put in PRAVDA, and with that I fully agree.—[signed] Lela Imnadze, tea grower on the Kolkhoz imini Makharadze, village of Les, Lanchkhutskiy Rayon, winner of the Leninist Komsomol Prize.

### Entering Tomorrow

We really have become different. Everything that we see and hear today is a confirmation of that.

Today, when I encounter my friends, all I hear from them is: "Did you read that, that magazine or newspaper? Did you watch some television program or another?" Yes, I read it; I read, watch, and am glad that

I can have contact with the lines of Bulgakov, Mandelstam, Grigol Robakidze, Nabokov and Gumilev. Let me honestly say that sometimes I do not even have time to pick up a book—so much of my time is taken up by periodicals.

Is that a coincidence? Of course not. Is it natural? Of course it is. We are learning to think differently, and we are opening for ourselves unknown pages of history and trying to free it of "blank spots." And without a resolute turn toward democratization, we hardly would have been able to master the principles of glasnost and restructuring.

Take me, for example. Could I have dreamed three or four years ago that a one-actor theater would be opened and that I would, from that stage, speak words to people that I could not have even said out loud in the times of stagnation? Could I have even thought that that theater would receive the status of a "state" theater? No, absolutely not.

Therein lies the fundamentally new distinctive quality of the present day. Glasnost has allowed us to defend our viewpoints, and we are speaking of the past, no matter how bitter the truth of those years might be. The crimes of past years have done tremendous damage to our state and people. One of today's noble causes is to restore the good names of people who paid with their lives.

Yes, restructuring is gathering more and more steam. As a theater person I cannot fail to say that changes are taking place there, too, in the creative milieu. Granted, not everything is clear yet in our business, and not everything is going well. Yet after all, these are just the first steps. Take the theater experiment. Here is the idea I can express in connection with it. In all times there have been seeking people, people who thought innovatively. Even in those years the names Tovstonogov, Sturua, Zakharov and Dodin resounded. In conceiving the experiment, its creators failed to take one thing into account: after taking the first step, they should have thought through the next step, as well. And in this regard our Union of Theater Workers has not yet proposed anything new, with regard to either the form of the theater's organization or its content. All we hear at every step is that in one place or another the experiment has not justified itself. I am not afraid to say that in this sense our theater is at an impasse today. And only a tireless search will lead it to success.

Here it is our intelligentsia's turn to speak, our intelligentsia which, as was stated in the well-known PRAVDA editorial, "has done a good deal to prepare public attitudes to understand the need for profound, fundamental changes." Indeed, it has joined in restructuring and is arming itself with "the best traditions created by our predecessors, appealing to conscience and decency and defending humanistic ideals." We can openly debate and enter into polemics. And that is what we do, and I think that only in that sort of honest and open dialogue

will it be possible to separate the wheat from the chaff and move forward. This is a very responsible and difficult undertaking, but I believe that we have something to take with us as we enter tomorrow—that is our conscience, our mind and our fidelity to ideals.—[signed] Kote Makharadze, Georgian SSR People's Artist.

### Without the Right to Forget

Today, when we again and again ponder the problems of restructuring, debate, reflect and bring forth solutions as to how to change the world in which we now live in order to realize the potential of socialism as fully as possible and as never before, a knowledge of history is important. Moreover, a knowledge that is fully truthful, without exaggerations, the shuffling of facts, "blank spots" or retouching for purposes of show.

No matter how bitter the truth about our past may be, we must accept it, suffer through it, make sense of it, and draw a lesson from it for the future. PRAVDA rightly wrote in its editorial, "The Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thought and Actions": "Hushing up the painful issues of our history means scorning the truth and treating disrespectfully the memory of those who found themselves the innocent victims of lawlessness and despotism."

The range of my interests as a historian consists of military matters. And now, in newly acquainting myself with archives, I constantly encounter major personalities—vivid, large-scale and talented figures—whose lives were mercilessly cut off in flight.

An old photograph taken 19 March 1936. It depicts a military delegation from Georgia—Platon Mirotadze, chief of the political department of the First Georgian Rifle Division; Konstantin Leselidze, commander of an artillery regiment; Olifant Ugulava, deputy director of the political administration of the Transcaucasus Military District; Georgiy Kutateladze, deputy commander of troops of the Transcaucasus Military District; Fedor Buachidze, a division commander; and Leonid Agladze, another division commander. They had gathered in the Kremlin on the occasion of their decoration in connection with the 15th anniversary of Soviet Georgia. And so the photograph depicts them emotionally excited, ceremonial, adorned with their military orders; it depicts them along with Stalin, Voroshilov and Kalinin. Incidentally, following the ceremony the entire military delegation from Georgia was invited by Stalin to his dacha, where they met with other Politburo members, as well.

And in a year or two they all, except for Konstantin Leselidze, had been arrested on the basis of false denunciations as "enemies of the people."

The Red Army was always intimately bound up with the people. Its commanders and commissars were men from the very bosom of the people who had passed the

harshest test of devotion to the revolution and the cause of socialism. They had been reared and shaped by the Soviet regime, and it had armed them with knowledge in its academies and decorated them for valor and heroism. And they were devoted to it to the end.

And I would further like to emphasize that the Red Army was also, from the very beginning, a genuine school for the upbringing of the new man. Recall, after all, that in those 1920s and 1930s the appearance of a demobilized soldier somewhere in the countryside was almost always an event. People saw in him a specialist in machinery, an agitator, and a good organizer. And the Red officers and decorated veterans enjoyed all the more prestige and universal respect. And somehow one can simply not conceive how the blasphemous idea could have arisen of mass "treachery," of "treason" and "espionage" in the army officers' ranks.

Today the names of Leonid Agladze, Petr Agniashvili, Yakim Bakradze, Shalva Dadiani, Nikolay Yenukidze, Shalva Eliava, Mikhail Kuprashvili, Platon Mirotadze, Georgiy Kutateladze, Nikolay Bluashvili, Polikarp Kevlishvili, Vladimir Dzhikiya, Fedor Buachidze, Tengiz Zhgenti, Olifant Ugulava, Levan Kubaneyshvili, Shalva Daneliya, Vissarion Kvirkveliya, and Yepifan Kvantaliani have reappeared in newspapers, magazines and books and in documentary films. Talented division commanders, people's commissars, deputy commanders of military districts, prominent political officers. Professional revolutionaries, participants in the Civil War, men who were decorated with the homeland's first combat and labor awards.

And those I have named are only military commanders from division commander and higher. How many others there were! What irreparable damage was caused as a result of the repressions of the 1930s to the army, the republic and our entire society.

For the families of those who had been repressed, who for a long time were surrounded by an invisible wall of alienation, it was difficult and oppressive to bear all this. But the moral element in the families of the former Red commanders who fell victim to despotism was so healthy and strong that no deprivations, calamities and suffering could break them. Otal Tukhareli, director of the Zonal Research and Design Institute for the Standardized and Experimental Design of Housing and Public Buildings; Nodar Kutateladze, professor and department head at the Georgian Polytechnical Institute; Teymuraz Kubaneyshvili, Honored Georgian SSR Artist, professor and department head at the Tbilisi Academy of Arts; Zurab Mirotadze—leading engineer at the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions' All-Union Institute for the Protection of Labor; Akakiy Bakradze, deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR State Agroindustrial Committee; Academician Vazha Okudzhava; and many others who today constitute the pride of the republic have become worthy sons of their fathers.

Yes, we should know our own history and be suffused with its joy and pain. Today it has become possible for historians to work with previously closed holdings in the central party and military archives. And I think that the time has come to also open the archives of the investigative agencies to specialists. We should know the real truth, for therein lies the pledge of our true look into the future.—[signed] Tristan Chinchilakishvili, senior scientific associate at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee's Institute of Party History.

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#### **Turkmen State Republic Library Resources Untapped**

18300265 [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 12 May 1988 carries on page 3 an 1100-word report by P. Yel'lyev, director of the Turkmen State Republic Library, entitled "Library Without Readers" under the rubric "Perestroyka and Us," detailing extremely limited library usage in the republic. Apart from reader services, the library has a wide informational capacity, taking into account the priority needs of over 10 production associations, scientific centers, enterprises, and institutions, supplying specialized information, books, and patent documentation.

Forty-two industrial, construction, and transportation collectives have access to the library either within its walls or by means of mobile exhibit-displays, information days, specialist days, and interlibrary loan. But the recommended sources of information are being little used. For example, in the past year in the "Solntse" Scientific-Production Association, at the republic Ministry of Construction, the "Turkmentiprovodkhoz" Institute, etc., the library conducted 18 mobile exhibit-displays, but only 1700 people visited. Further, since the republic Gosagroprom was created the library has directed letters to all RAPO's stating its capabilities, types of information, and new literature available, but only eight RAPO's have ever responded. Even workers of the republic Gosagroprom apparat are very passive and, what is worse, workers in party organs do not wish to use the information. In 1987 the library directed 12 letters of inquiry to the Leninsky Raykom leadership and Department of Agitation and Propaganda in Ashkhabad, but so far it has not received a single answer. The republic is also very poor in library buildings. Long ago it opened a scientific-technical library, but because of the lack of a proper building it cannot serve the public. For this reason the state library has been forced to maintain a department of patent technical literature which partially performs the function of a scientific-technical library.

**Historian Interprets Stalinism for Armenian Komsomol Newspaper**

18300250 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
5 May 88 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General D.A.Volkogonov, Ph.D. Philosophy, Director, the USSR Ministry of Defense Institute of War History, Professor, conducted by TASS correspondent A.Tsyganov: "'Truth Should Not Be a Luxury,'" first paragraph is a boldface introduction]

[Text] What is young people's attitude to the opening of the blank spots in history? Would not such an unprepared audience respond by rejecting everything our society has been living by, not only the bad but also the valuable in what our fathers and grandfathers have passed on to us? These are the questions that TASS correspondent A.Tsyganov asked Colonel General D.A.Volkogonov, Ph.D. Philosophy, Director, the USSR Ministry of Defense's Institute of War History, Professor. He is currently working on a book about I.V.Stalin and studying more and more documents about that period and the history of our nation.

[Question] Dmitriy Antonovich, we know that you are working on a book about Stalin, his role in the history of our nation and that period. The book has not yet appeared in the stores, but it is being discussed widely, people argue about it and some foreign publishers have already expressed interest in the publishing rights. You are considered one of the authorities on the 1930s and 1940s.

Many young people are asking themselves, as well as the society, what is the cause of the personality cult and was there a historical necessity for such a figure to appear?

[Answer] This kind of question calls for a very extensive, exhaustive answer. I am trying to provide it in my book. This is why I will only to summarize it here. I will talk about the genesis, the roots of the phenomenon that our society experienced. Here, the individual is not the most important factor. If it had been just a question of the individual, we would have been facing a constant problem: what if we are "unlucky" with our leader again? We could speak of a potential alternative to Stalin but, alas, it changes nothing. Life is not a movie and it can be projected backwards only in our mind's eye.

The problem is that Lenin was thinking from the very start to create a democratic system that would preclude the emergence of leaders who would not act in accordance with the general interests of the masses. Unfortunately, it did not happen that way at the time. Why, is a complex question in and of itself. First of all, we should not forget that everything was being done for the first time then: the new trails of socialism were being blazed and a new society was being built—a society whose blueprint existed only in theory, in a sketchbook or as a mere plan.

As to Stalin, we should realize that to a large extent he has come to play that special role in our history as a result of Lenin's unexecuted testament. This can not be discarded from history. Lenin did warn that Stalin should be removed from his post where he had acquired nearly absolute power; he expressed early concern that Stalin would not use it in moderation. This is one of the reasons, the fact that Lenin's last testament was not executed.

Another reason that should not be forgotten is that neither the democratic institutions that Lenin left behind nor the democratic machinery of power transfer and formation of leadership that Lenin tried to develop existed as yet. The democratic foundations had been laid but not yet developed and the weak first shoots of democracy were at the end throttled by the thicket of dogmatism, bureaucratism and autocracy.

A third reason is that Russia had weaker democratic traditions than other nations. The institution of serfdom lasted for a long time and even after it was abolished many semifeudal characteristics survived. Four years before the revolution the 300th anniversary of the House of Romanov was marked. This is why to an ordinary person a supreme leader was synonymous with an autocratic ruler. This also why leader-worship and Caesar-like ideas were still alive and, unfortunately, flourished under the new conditions. In the early 1920s the word "leader" was not used exclusively to describe those who held supreme power. There were such concepts as a "Red Army leader," a "leader" of this or that narkomat or administrative district. This alone presented a great danger. Stalin made use of those ideas and, being very ambitious, managed to become a "leader" himself. In parentheses, I would like to mention that he did not possess the qualities of a real leader, or an executor of the will of the people. Of course, he could not even touch Lenin in this respect. Yet, Stalin himself was anxious to create the concept of two leaders. Stalin is a "leader" with a minus sign.

Speaking of the causes, we should remember that the people's political culture was much less advanced than it was desirable. This is not only the result of widespread illiteracy. By the 1930s it was largely eliminated, but political culture can not be created in a set period of time; even within the party itself it was weak. At the 17th party congress, for instance, former opposition members confessing their faults were simply ostracized or subjected to ridicule that verged on insults. Some did not have manners good enough to hear those men out. And yet, many of them had been sincerely misled and were honest in their desire to become party line supporters once again.

And of course among the causes of the personality cult there were also those that came from abroad. The imperialist danger was not merely ephemeral. Strict centralization, determined action, even cruelty were necessary because there was a danger from abroad. All



forces had to be gathered into one, and we had to make a colossal effort—otherwise we would have been overrun. Socialist principles had to be developed at the forced pace.

Some people say now that the same distance could have been covered slowly, in 3 or 4 decades. This was Bukharin's idea. Yes, it is true, defects would have been fewer, including political ones. Yet, Bukharin himself later admitted that he was wrong. Had industrialization been drawn out for 30-40 years, no one knows how it would have all turned out in 1941. Bukharin has many very attractive, profound, good ideas. Yet, he did not take the time factor into consideration. The threat was not coming from fascism alone. There were other possibilities. What would have happened had all the capitalist countries united against us, that is if it had not been possible to divide the imperialist states into two warring camps? If the simultaneous attack from the west and from the east, from Japan, had not been prevented? Today, of course, it is easy for us to judge, with a perfect hindsight; it is easy to be clever in this kind of historical analysis. But at that time, at the face of those tremendous challenges, decisions could not be rehearsed before being taken.

To summarize, the international factor, i.e., the danger from the outside, accelerated the centralization and helped limit democracy—which Stalin used to his advantage.

Among other factors—and their list can go on and on—were Stalin's personal qualities as well, which coupled on those objective factors turned out so tragically for the people: his exceptional distrust, hunger for power which he loved more than anything else, suspiciousness and strange ambition. One of his political opponents called Stalin "great at measuring out doses." It meant that Stalin worked toward his goals only when it was possible, without making sudden outward movements or lunging out, gradually, making use of everything that brought him closer to his aim which at first are not always clear to people.

It can be said that the tragedy was centered in 1937-1939. The question is often asked how Stalin and his circle dared to unleash mass terror. There is a number of reasons that explain this monstrous step. One of them is that Stalin wanted to liquidate all potential opponents of his autocracy, his potential rivals and finally simply those who knew who he was in reality. Stalin had no room in the dogmatic and bureaucratic version of socialism that he preached for all those people, some of whom were former members of fractions within the party or former members of other parties, some disliked Soviet power, some supported at one time or another Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinovyev or some other ex-leader, etc.

It took a long time for the leader to gather courage for his ultimate move. A pretext for the mass liquidation of the alleged "enemies of the people" could be the 1936

publication abroad of a book by Trotsky, who at that time lived in Norway, titled "Revolution Betrayed." By the end of 1937 it was translated and shown to Stalin. It is possible that Stalin, who feared even the shadow of the exile, was scared by that little book's contents. In it, Trotsky claimed provocatively that he had many followers in the USSR, in the party and in the army; that a revolution is brewing in the country and a political coup was possible. At that very time Trotsky came up with his thesis Down with Stalin.

As a very suspicious man, Stalin was greatly alarmed by Trotsky's untrue, yet provocational claims. Especially since at the time he received information from White emigre sources in Paris about a conspiracy in the Red Army; a plausible document appeared, too, supplied by Benes.

Who knows, maybe that horrible decision was made after he read those documents?

In any case, it can be claimed that his profound lack of moral qualities led to further deterioration of the leader's political standards. Having stepped over the moral boundaries, Stalin introduced violence into politics as the principal means of attaining his aims. And he certainly knew how to attain them.

At one time he, fearing Trotsky, formed a kind of triumvirate with Zinovyev and Kamenev and fought together with them until Trotsky was defeated. Once it was done, he no longer needed Zinovyev and Kamenev. He now used Bukharin and others. Then, he no longer needed Bukharin. A man of enormous ambition, ill will and cruelty, a man who would not stop before anything, Stalin was determined to attain his goal. That goal was autocratic power, and probably he began to think it was attainable as early as at the end of the 1920s. Stalin showed himself masterful at using the party apparatus to attain his goal.

I describe this in such detail in order to emphasize that we should not look at just one aspect of those times or one trait in the character of any politician, especially Stalin. We must strive to understand the essence of the entire process. This can be done only by analyzing all the aspects of it.

[Question] But why do we need to analyze those questions at all? Should not we leave to fathers what is fathers' and get on with the new problems of the new times?

[Answer] This has been discussed repeatedly and I will repeat the idea expressed by other historians, which I share completely. We can not work effectively today without gaining full understanding of our history. Our past lives with us, sometimes as monuments, traditions and experience and sometimes as remains of old mistakes for crimes; and it is always the basis for today's actions. The fact that at one time we did not analyze the

personality cult fully, closed the public discussion on the subject fearing God only knows what, became a cause of stagnation of the later years: the outward attributes of well-being were preserved while everything was literally falling apart under our fingers.

[Question] But perhaps even today there is some basis for those fears? Some people express concern that by touching the "blank spots" of history we foster negativist tendencies among young people, those who have not yet been steeped in life experience and do not know the true value of achievements and mistakes. At the same time, many older people are angry that the old wounds are being opened.

[Answer] The answer here, it seems to me, lies in the kind of light that is being cast on those pages. They should not be just blackened; they should not be filled with tales of tragedies, but with the truth. Truth knows how to defend itself.

Moreover, the truth should be looked at dialectically, from many sides. The 1930s saw not just tragedies. Listen for example to the optimistic songs written at the time. Kosmodemyanskaya, Matrosov and Gastello grew up then. And how about the working enthusiasm of the people? It can not be created by the stick, it could only be born of the realization that everyone was building his own society, his own country, his own Motherland. In spite of everything, the country and the people straightened up under socialism and burst upward, to conquer of the unconquerable and the new.

Against this background Stalin's gloomy figure is seen in its true light, since Stalin effectively tried to limit that free creativity of the people and to turn them into an army of obedient followers of his will. In other words, the analysis of historical events once again demonstrates the unlimited potential of socialism as a system: in spite of all the horrors, the limits and the bureaucratism introduced by Stalin's system, in spite of war and destruction, the people not only managed to survive but produced examples of very high organization, heroism and enthusiasm.

This is why I see no risk in the truthful representation of history. Truth should not be a luxury. As to young people's reaction to the truth, it will probably be different from ours. This is natural. If every new generation resembled fully their predecessors, there would be no progress. Today's young people are much different from us. They are better informed, have more intellectual depth; I would say they are more versatile, they are better able to express and assert themselves. This makes me happy.

Unfortunately, something valuable, too, may have been lost by our young people. First of all, it is the fact that some of the hardships that the older generation experienced—after the revolution, in the 1930s, during the war—are known to today's young people—poorly, at

that—by books and movies, and only rarely by word of mouth. We often rely on the textbooks, the radio and the press. They do produce results, but all too often those results are spontaneous, amorphous and disorganized.

Yet, the passage from generation to generation does not happen automatically; it should not be based exclusively on absorbing organized information from textbooks. I am totally convinced that aside from studying and participating in various organized activities every young person must have his own inner curriculum of self-education, of building up his own inner world. A person must develop a need to absorb cultural achievements and socialist values, he must be able to be demanding toward himself and always set himself some positive goals. I think that this is extremely important.

The break in perceptions that exists today between "fathers and sons," a break that is slightly wider than the natural differences between generations can account for, is probably symptomatic of our times. The leap in the development of today's young people turned out to be very potent. In many respects, we were unable to understand quickly enough the new phenomena that have arisen in young people's social conscience or in their interests and needs, nor were we able to respond adequately to them. Each one of us is chained to the gallery of his own times. And even though we are still living today, for us, the aged, the time of our own youth remains the most dear. Perhaps this is the reason why many people, even those who suffered in the late 1930s themselves, are sometimes opposed to the negative descriptions of "that time" or of Stalin who was "the symbol of socialism," etc. They are not ready to part with the ideals of their youth. In part, they still live in "that time."

I think that this delay often breeds misunderstanding or even anger and complaints. At the same time, young people should be more tolerant of the old-fashioned ideas, as it were, of the aged. A person can not simply shake off everything he has lived through. They should not forget that one day they will be the same: unfortunately, the youth passes—as does the old age. And who knows, the so-called old-fashioned ideas of the aged may even be some sort of a guarantee of social stability.

This is why I think that there is no tragedy or drama in the relationship between generations. It is a contradiction that itself stems from the so-called contradictions within the ages. For the old, it is their experience, the knowledge how to change one or another aspect of life on the one hand, and—something that is internally uncomfortable and unpleasant—the understanding that that experience of theirs comes from the past and that its prescriptions have become obsolete for the present. Young people's contradiction is between what they have from the intellectual and material points of view on the one hand and what they would like to have on the other.

These contradictions should be resolved in a way suggested by Prometheus: striving to bring closer together today's reality and the wonderful ideals for which we have always worked. This work will unite the experience of the older generation and the energy of the young.

[Question] Are you, both as a representative of the older generation and a professional involved in political education, ready to entrust the work to today's young people?

[Answer] Certainly, without a second's hesitation. Otherwise it would not have been worth going on with life. I would like to emphasize that I am proud of our young people, I trust them. I have been to Afghanistan many times, I visit frequently garrisons, military districts and navy bases and I am always happy to see today's young people. I am convinced that we, the older generation, should trust them with everything we have created in the hope that they would be ascending the never-ending steps of social progress faster than we, and would work more effectively, more efficiently than we have done. It is for this reason that the knowledge of history is indispensable; we must learn to drink the truth from its boundless sources. We are supported by the past and we say: the present is never complete and the future is permanently at the beginning.

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### **Son of Purged Uzbek Party Leader on Archive Access Barriers**

18120078 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 18, 8-15 May 88 p 12

[Kamil Ikramov's reminiscence ("MN" No 11, 1988)—about his father, Akmal Ikramov, who became head of the Party organization in Uzbekistan in 1929 and was executed in 1938—elicited a wide response from readers. So wide that Kamil Ikramov felt compelled to write the following addendum.]

[Text] Coincidentally, for me this past March marked 50 years since my father's execution, 35 years since Stalin's death and the tragic deaths of people in the crowd attending his funeral and my trip to Tashkent to be awarded the title of People's Writer of Uzbekistan.

In the meantime I was receiving huge amounts of mail. It's incomprehensible to me how those people in Minsk, Lisichansk, Dushanbe, Novosibirsk, and Irkutsk manage to buy MOSCOW NEWS. I can't get hold of a copy unless I call the editorial office the day the paper comes out and this despite the fact that I've known the editor and executive secretary for 25 years. But people get it somehow, read it, xerox and pass it along to the next person.

It was almost sultry in Tashkent. No one was wearing an overcoat or a cap.

Right at the airport I was handed a copy of PRAVDA VOSTOKA with a big picture of my father on the front page. One of my favourites among the pictures of him that survived. My father is wearing a tyubeteika cap. He's very young with trusting eyes. The headline reads: "Do you really believe it, dear comrades?" Yet another article about Akmal Ikramov. But the article contained a fact of which I wasn't aware and which shook me. Among the documents remaining from the Plenary Meeting in Tashkent in 1937 is a message scribbled on a scrap of paper in pencil: "Do you really believe it, dear comrades?..."

I knew the note had been written by my father and felt I should really see it and find out what it implied. My father's last note, his cry of desperation. I don't know what kind of pit they hurled him into. I don't have any of his letters: they were all confiscated during the many arrests and searches of my family members and relations.

"Do you really believe it, dear comrades?"

I spent a month going from office to office. I went to the director of the Institute of the History of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, to the chairman of the Republic's Council of War and Labour Veterans (about whom I wrote recently in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA), and asked leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic.

"You're not supposed to see the note. You're not in the Party." Right, I'm not in the Party. I even served a prison sentence and I'm the son of an enemy of the people. I'm also an Honoured Worker in Culture and a People's Writer of the Republic. For 20 years PRAVDA, the central Party organ, has been sending me on assignments as its special correspondent.... But even without all that? If a son, a Soviet citizen, wants to see the last note written by his father, and if this happens during the struggle for openness and democratization, can you tell me what those people who denied me my right as a son were thinking of? Couldn't they imagine themselves in my place? Did it ever occur to them that their children might become as indifferent to the memory of their parents as they would like me to be to that of my father? After all indifference, if cultivated, can be transmitted genetically.

Deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee Prof M. Mchedlov said it was all nonsense and that he would intervene and put everything right. He'll do that, no doubt, because the institute in Tashkent is affiliated with his institute.

But I am obliged to reveal the present political implications of what happened. MN readers will remember that A. Ikramov was replaced as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan by the then People's Commissar for Uzbekistan's Food Industry. It was U. Yusupov who delivered a libellous



attack against my father. I have no way of knowing if that speech is among the documents from the 1937 Plenary Meeting together with my father's note, but for many years thereafter Yusupov published his base lies in the papers.

Now retired in Tashkent on a special pension, Suleiman Azimov returned to Tashkent in 1937 after graduating from the History, Philosophy and Literature Institute (in the Russian Federation). He then taught at Tashkent University, worked on the city Party committee, edited the Republic's most important newspaper KZYL UZBEKISTON and went on to become secretary of the Central Committee for propaganda. He did whatever was in his power to oppose repressions. He helped other people and was constantly at loggerheads with Yusupov over the latter's war against Party and non-Party intellectuals. Azimov was arrested in 1941. He maintains that, as a member of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, he learned from Sadzhaya, the People's Commissar for Internal Affairs who replaced Apresyan (a Yezhov man), that in 1937-38 Yusupov, as chairman of the notorious "troika" (a tribunal), signed orders for 40,000 persons to be shot. On charges of nationalism. The same charge was brought against my father.

Apresyan was a Yezhov man, Sadzhaya was a Beriia man. Both are now dead. But the documents remain. And those who refused to show me my father's note have access to them.

More important than the documents, after the MN publication I got an invitation to visit the son of Abdulla Kadyri (Khabibulla-aka), a foremost Uzbek writer and an absolute favourite with the people. He told me that my father, sensing he was doomed, called G. Madzhidi, then head of Uzbekistan's Writers Union. My father told Madzhidi that everything should be done to save A. Kadyri: "If he dies you'll answer for it with your own head, not your Party card." Unfortunately, Madzhidi was also arrested. One hundred days after my father's arrest the first Uzbek fiction writer, one of Uzbekistan's classic writers, was arrested and the troika had him shot.

For a long time it surprised me that I was arrested on the day our troops took Kiev. But it was really uncanny that A. Kadyri's son was arrested on 25 May 1945, the month the war ended and the nation was jubilant. He got 10 years as the son of an enemy of the people and for keeping Kadyri's books at home, which can be found today in every Uzbek home. The arrest could not have been made without Yusupov's knowledge.

I was denied access to my father's archives solely because Sh. Rashidov, the disgraced head of Uzbekistan's Communist Party, had been nurtured by Yusupov and had gone out of his way to inflate Yusupov's cult; and because I. Usmankhodzhayev, Rashidov's successor, was the son of Yusupov's crony Buzrukkhodzha, a hereditary ishan.

Just when I was trying to get access to my father's tragic note, they were preparing in Uzbekistan to award a Lenin prize for a two-part film about U. Yusupov significantly entitled "The meaning of Life." The film portrays 1937 as the climax of our general well-being and the 20th Party Congress as a time of cruel injustice. The film features Stalin, Molotov, Andreyev and Apresyan. The centrepiece is Stalin, presenting his watch to Yusupov who tried, even after 1956, to live in Stalin's times as if to say: we don't know what it was like in your Moscow and your Leningrad, for us Stalin was and remains the best friend of the Uzbek people.

Under the circumstances how can they give me access to my father's archives? It would be against principles. Against policy. What kind of policy? It was clearly described 5 April in a PRAVDA editorial. Remarkably, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the importance of that editorial for the ideological backing of perestroika when he spoke recently in my native city of Tashkent.

I'm going to send replies to each and everyone who wrote to me about my "Looking up to my father" (MN No 11, 1988). Here I'm only going to mention a few: an old and a very sick man, M. Troitsa, a doctor's assistant from Lisichansk. He was a medical student, a Komsomol committee secretary when he spoke out against tuition fees introduced in this country by law in 1939. In the labour camp he was in charge of the medical aid station; he saved many lives, including mine. I was afflicted with third-degree distrophy and pellagra. Another man who wrote me is Valentin Avgustovich Yakson from Dobropolye. He was my father's chauffeur in Tashkent in 1921 and in Samarkand in 1925. My thanks go to Gulam Mamedli, now living in Baku, who was a compositor in 1918-19 at ISHTRAKIYUN (Communist) when my father was the editor. These old men have undulled memories and God grant continued health to these devoted people. I also had a phone call from Yuri Vitalyevich Primakov, the son of the legendary army commander who organized the Red Cossaks and was shot together with our other outstanding military leaders. Yuri Vitalyevich said he was going to show me some materials he thought I should see.

I was asked not to give the name of yet another man who wrote to me. As far as I can gather he worked in the archives of the former NKVD in the early 1960s and he said that fund 198, volume 1 for 1937 (archive No 3198, folder No 1) contains notes written personally by my father before his attempted suicide. One says: "Comrades Stalin and Yezhov, please believe that I have nothing in common with counter-revolution. I'm a devoted son of the Party...." Another says: "I'm sorry, People's Commissar. Yesterday's accusation of Matveyev cannot be tolerated. Ikramov." And yet another: "...I've slandered myself, I can't go on like this. Ikramov." The file contains a formal statement about Ikramov's having attempted to slit his throat with a safety razor. (The swines prevented him from suicide!)

Am I not going to see these notes? Other people will! And disgrace will overtake not only the executioners of those times but also those who today are hiding the truth from the people and the Party that is at the service of the people.

I will never tire of repeating that given all the terrible means of mass destruction it is easier to deny humanity the future than the past, but both intentions have a common root.

One day my phone rang.

"Hello, Kamil Akmalevich. This is Khristian Rakovsky...Are you there?"

"Rakovsky's grandson," I managed at last.

"Right. I'd like to meet with you. I'm a colonel but I'll be wearing civilian clothes. Let's meet in front of the Byelorussky Station. I'm easy to recognize: I'm two metres tall."

I'd rather tell about this man after the bitter feeling from that brazen "You're not supposed to see it" has subsided.

I'm not worried about myself—my life is largely behind me. The terrible part of it is that some people stubbornly conceal the past. Why? So that everything will happen all over again?

This incident with my father's note has brought home to me the terrible fact: there are people who would not like to give us back our past because they are hoping for a similar future.

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**Youth Restore Monastery in Arkhangelsk Oblast**  
*18000341 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in  
Russian 6 Apr 88 p 13*

[Excerpts from article by Vasilii Golovanov, special correspondent of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA: "Return of Clio"]

[Excerpts] The monastery can be seen from afar: several severely time beaten buildings of unknown purpose, rising church of Annunciation and bald-headed drums of the main Troitskiy cathedral around which, like tents of nomads surrounding the ruins of a temple of a deity overthrown by them, colorfully painted buildings of a pioneer summer camp Avtomobilist are located. I crossed a soccer field, passed a gate with a warning not to enter the construction site, briefly noticed a lime-stained scaffolding at the wall of a bell tower of which only two lower levels remained, and finally saw the brigade.

There were about 20 students unloading a truck with cement and roofing tiles. The cement dust was staying in the air like flour and was covering faces. . . To be honest, the first feeling was of some dull desperation: the cathedral with its empty windows, rusty holes in the walls caused by water, bare ribs of the roof, and damp smell of an abandoned building, reminiscent of a carcass of some huge monster. A thought appeared for a moment in my mind that regardless of the time these kids will spend here, they will never be able to put life into this huge pile of stones.

But I was mistaken. They worked with a monotonous and imperceptible stubbornness, and each day something in the appearance of the monastery building was changing: the birch tree on the roof and a crack in the wall disappeared, a window closed, and the roof was built. . .

Seven years ago, Moscow painter N. Rozov for the first time left for Arkhangelsk oblast with a brigade of amateur restorers to save wooden chapels in the area around Kargopol. From that time on, each year other people from other organizations and simply single enthusiasts are coming here every year. Also these Moscow Architectural Institute third year students suddenly decided not to go to the traditional summer practice and instead went to preserve a forgotten by everybody Antoniyevo-Siyskiy monastery, which is the second most important monument of Russian stone architecture after the Solovetskiy kremlin on the oblast's territory. All these facts taken separately are insignificant. However, when taken together, they represent a phenomenon. I would call it a "pilgrimage into history".

I was trying to find out from the kids working in the monastery what had brought them here to the North to mix concrete. Interest? Money? Romance? They were

nodding: Yes, interesting. . . And, in general. . . I did not immediately realize that the main thing cannot be expressed in words. One can only feel it and experience it together with them.

Of course, there were many surges of interest in history before. A powerful and natural one took place in the 60's. In the 70's people were escaping into history from gray and stagnant reality. I think that V. Pikul's phenomenon and I. Glazumov's fairy-tale fantasies on the Ancient Rus themes blossomed on this soil. However, when last year the Angletorre was being demolished, the reaction of the youth could have appeared to an impartial onlooker to have been excessive and unproportional. Some did not miss the chance to attack the youth. What business did they have to protest if they do not know the difference between Empire style and the modern one?

There were more than enough of such statements. However, the issue was something else: on that day, in the square was generation, which feels itself, one may say, being deprived with regard to history, but does not want to accept it anymore. At the same time, students in the history department of the Moscow State Teacher's Institute imeni V.I. Lenin were organizing a seminar on the history of socialist doctrines. . . All these facts, as well as the movement of volunteer restorers, are links of one chain, a phenomenon which cannot be explained by another change in "fashion". . .

The interest toward history, in some way not exactly clear to me, is connected with the turning-point moments in the life of the society and with reassessment of values. I am still trying to understand why it is that exactly now, in the age of, let us call it, "moral full cost accounting" (prepared by decades of cheating and behind-the-back giggling about the slogan "to each in accordance with his labor"), an unselfish and even, in the old sense of this word, idealistic movement of "pilgrims into history" was born among the youth. Maybe, we witness an attempt to be saved from self-destructive idle talks and sarcasm, which affected so many people during the period of stagnation, an attempt to find a more stable ground under the feet than hedonistic pleasures and an everyday level formula reduced to "goods - - money - - goods".

It is another evening. The old house is squeaking in the wind. The boys coming from work are tired, and somber. They eliminate bread and kasha with a fantastic speed, their mood improves, and for a very long time they drink tea from a samovar and sing Grebenshchikov's songs (a good puzzle for frenzied rock-n-roll haters: how can one combine Akvarium with a carpenter's axe?). On one such evening, the curator of the work, chief architect of the Arkhangelsk restoration shop V. Lopatko brought a book on the monastery's history. I think, it was a carefully thought out move: the boys started to get tired, after a month of work the enthusiasm of the initial drive was extinguished, and a new, deeper sense had to be entered into the work.

Some 450 years ago, a certain trapper Samuil was guiding "among lakes, swamp, wild forest, and tundras" a group of 6 monks looking for solitude toward the distant Mikhaylov island. The monks were led by 43-year old Antony, the future saint, in whose honor the monastery received a half of its name. The other half of the name originated from a small river with a transparent name Siya, which forms, like pearl beads of a necklace, a series of extremely beautiful lakes. Here among the lakes, Antony lived 28 years and then died in Grace. . . As to the monastery he established, it became prosperous. During the times of the schism they tried to use it as a place of exile. However the attempt to use the monastery as a prison was unsuccessful: the proximity of the road tempted the prisoners to escape. Later the monastery became famous for its richest collection in the North of ikons, manuscripts, books, and also had a foreign made clock with the beautiful toll of silver bells. After the revolution, the clock was taken off, the monastery closed, and after many attempts to use it in an economically sound way, it ended up as a property of the Arkhangelsk territorial automotive enterprise, which owns now 3 cathedrals with a half-destroyed bell tower and "ruined monk cell building".

Of course, the monument is protected by the State. However, the restoration shop does not have time for it: they must save Solovki and the monuments of wooden architecture, which will approach the limit of allowable aging in 5 - 10 years. A whole layer of culture is in danger: in 1985 the church of the Twelve Apostles in Pinega burned down, and in 1986 boys burned a large hipped-roof church in the village Seltso; if not for the All-Union Society for Protection of Monuments and Culture restorers and vacationing people from the capital, the Spaso - Preobrazhenskaya church in Mezen would fall down . . .

By the way, I never heard any discussions among the boys about the threatening catastrophe or the "loss of roots". During the time past, this subject was widely discussed. The "pilgrims into history", it seems, have understood one thing: discussions only will not help this time. Exactly this approach has determined the nonromantic and even pragmatic driving force of the movement: to save what has remained, that is, buildings, crafts, and fairy tales, and the story told by the old woman:

"... And in the altar, there was the tomb of the Reverend Antony. He was made of marble, looked alive; there was a large amount of pearls and other beautiful things. . . When the monastery was destroyed, where did all these things go? There was a cannon, a thick one, round, thicker than a small clothes-boiler. Before, such a cannon was near the Holy gates, even it was taken away. When the bells were torn down, our windows cracked. . . My husband was working there: painted over the images of saints, those which were on the stone wall. He was telling me that they must paint over the main God, Jesus Pantocrator, one that looks over the gates of Paradise. . . After that everything was liquidated, kolkhozs started. . ."

Today, the sense of loss had extremely intensified the national feelings of Russians (and of other peoples of our country as well). The extremists from the society Pamyat stay alive by exploiting this feeling. They gather audiences by giving out historical advances: We are the caretakers of Russian history! We know how it was in reality! Some of the people are tempted by these promises, especially because the majority have a very approximate notion of how it was.

At the present time, publications opening the new horizons of truth in our history finally appeared. However, we need special studies, historic portraits, historic excursions in the field of social psychology, diaries, memoirs, and letters, anything which gives history its moral value and makes it a huge collection of vital roles, where each person may find a version of his own destiny: from Caesar to Zhelyabov.

The "pilgrimage into history" is also (almost literally) to touch the truth. Maybe, because of exactly this touch, I was also coming to the monastery's walls, was taking a spade and was driving it into the broken bricks in order to dig up a porch almost completely buried under the pieces of the wall. In the past, they took bricks from the monastery, after that a rest home was organized there, then a clinic for retarded children, then again a rest home.

Today through the hard and ant-like labor of these 20 boys, a link is restored, a thread is laid into the 18th century and even further into the 17th century, tying us with Russian craftsmen building these walls. Now they will not die, now they are tied up with us in a common historic destiny: stone masons Samson Sinitsyn and Timofey Gogolikhin, great smith Fedor Kakovkin and brick mason Aleksey Romanov Novogalichanin, window maker Grigoriy Bovin and unnamed people who filled lime with rubble. . .

There are many things to be told about. For example, there is an obkom dacha located on the territory of the monastery, through the windows of which the eyes of authorities look at the disgusting neglect. And there is also the fact that money for the monastery restoration is given by the Arkhangelsk territorial enterprise, which does not happen too often in our age of full cost accounting. I did not have time to tell about the boys themselves, how they had to fight for "non-fund" cement and sand and to work under continuing rain for many days; about how I and 24-year old commander of the brigade Ilya Bazilevich were climbing over the monastery, and how we were surprised how fast time destroys the tin roof and stone walls. Suddenly, usually reserved Ilya said: "We should have come here 10 years ago. . ."

Ten years ago it was 1978. And there was nobody to come.

I do not know what the boys felt leaving the monastery, where white nights, their youth, and four-and-a-half centuries of Russian history got together. It could be an admiration of ancient builders' craftsmanship, and it also could be a disappointment with being unable to repair in one summer what was created by 13 generations labor and destroyed due to the neglect of 3 generations. The important thing is that they made their choice between "inventors" of history (V. Khlebnikov's expression) and those who acquire it.

It is exactly what I wanted to write about. Namely, that today's "pilgrimage into history" is a rebirth of civic

attitude as a life philosophy. And when in Leningrad, or Minsk, or Moscow, the youth tries to prevent a destruction of another monument, and when they become a subject of angry bewilderment (sometimes even through the newspapers) that "it is none of your business", one understands how many impassive "loyal subjects" we have, who do not even suspect the existence of the right of citizens to be masters of their past and their future, and who are not capable of independent decision, search for truth, and coexperience. . .

13355

### Filmmaker Ryazanov Protests Television Censorship

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No 14, 2-9 Apr 88 pp 26-27

[Article by Eldar Ryazanov, board secretary, USSR Union of Cinematographers: "Why Did I Leave Television During the Era of Glasnost?"]

[Excerpt] New times finally arrived; long-awaited times, purifying, giving rise to hopes, and beneficial. Although there are still many unsolved problems, the situation in filmmaking has become normalized—previously confiscated films have been released and shown; production has begun on sharply pointed, interesting screenplays; motion pictures completed by us have been accepted without parts torn out of them, without excisions or cuts. No matter how paradoxical this statement may seem, our work has become more difficult but much more interesting. A genuine artistic contest has begun: who can reflect life more vitally, with greater freshness, talent, uniqueness, and truth? We have ceased to experience a servile dependence upon Goskino. We are struggling for filmmakers' rights, and we hope that our created properties will be protected by the new copyright law. I am convinced that our motion-picture industry has begun to emerge from its crisis, and this is the result of the joint efforts made by Goskino and the Union of Cinematographers.

Of course, television has also changed. Interesting new categories have appeared, live broadcasts have emerged, and, from time to time, something witty and sharply pointed can be heard from the television set. A previously unthinkable, unfettered quality has become the distinguishing feature of many programs. At times television broadcasts not only up to, but even after, midnight. To put it more succinctly, there are quite a few external signs of renovation. But this powerful medium of mass information has remained unchanged in one respect—it is built on the desire to please. But—alas!—not the people. I must apologize to the readers for citing examples below from my own practical experience, but I know all this not from hearing about it, but rather from experiencing it on my own "hide." And not in the gloomy, stagnant times but during the days of glasnost and freedom.

In March 1986 the program entitled "Among My Friends" was shown. It was broadcast on a Saturday evening as a program of light entertainment. And, indeed, my friends did take part in this concert, which was held in the Central Concert Hall. Among them were the performing artists Andrey Mironov, Alisa Freyndlikh, and Oleg Basilashvili, as well as the composers Andrey Petrov and Mikael Tariverdiyev, Tatyana and Sergey Nikitin. My wish was to show a witty and musical evening party, to amuse the viewers, and, at the same time, to poke fun at all sorts of nasty things.

Before a program is aired for the country's European part, it is shown twice on the Orbit system for the Soviet Far East and Siberia, inasmuch as they have different time zones there. On that ill-fated Saturday afternoon an alarming telephone call suddenly rang out from the television office: "After the program was aired on the Orbit system, a directive was received to cut out a whole set of materials spoken by Grigoriy Gorin, Gennadiy Khazanov, Aleksandr Shirvindt, and Mikhail Derzhavin." Naturally, this was a matter of some sharply pointed, caustic, satirical dialogue. I flew like a bullet to the television office and began to fight. I managed to win back some things and keep them in the broadcast, while other things were cut out by a ruthless hand. Later this is what happened on the television screen: Gorin or Khazanov, for example, would come out and say a few words leading up to the joke, reprise, or witticism, but there would be no punch line; it had been eliminated. And then the studio audience would be shown laughing wildly, applauding, and practically falling out of their seats. And the television viewer, not guessing that a vivisection had occurred here, began to think something like the following: Why is the studio audience laughing so hard when nothing funny has happened? Or is this a collection of simpletons who laugh at anything? Or am I, the television-viewer, so stupid and devoid of a sense of humor that I cannot appreciate anything funny?

But why was a comic program crippled in such a panicky way? I can only guess. They did not manage to get a look at it ahead of time, but that was not too important—after all, nobody they were afraid of lives beyond the Urals, and how they would respond did not disturb the leaders of television. They watched the program when it was shown on the Orbit system, and in order to be sure not to annoy certain television viewers in the country's European part, they began to rip the program up alive.

It is noteworthy that particular dissatisfaction was caused among the television chiefs not by the fact that they were mutilating a program in order to play it safe, but rather because there was a "traitor" who had informed Ryazanov about this. "Traitors" and "spies" were talked about with indignation at a short meeting.

The next story is about my participation in the broadcast of "Before and After Midnight." I was invited to talk about my new film "Forgotten Melody for Flute," and a clip from this motion picture would be shown. My talk was shot ahead of time and was not aired live. I warned V. Molchanov, the chief, that if anything at all was cut from my remarks, I would request that this talk not be broadcast at all. I had grounds for such fears because, after all, I said, taking into consideration the topic of "Flute," about bureaucrats, about the fact that there are 18 million of them, about the strange superstition that if a bureaucrat does not own a black Volga car but one of some other color, then he is somehow a "second-class" official, about shares, special hospitals, and other privileges, about the fact that the bureaucratic machinery is a heavy weight for the legs of the country, as it rushes



forward, etc. Not one word of this was in the broadcast, either before or after midnight. Whether it was Molchanov himself who cut this out, or whether he ripped it out upon orders from his superiors—I do not know. In any case, Molchanov did not phone me. He proved not to be a "spy," but I have lost my liking for him. The paradox was that practically one sentence out of my talk remained in this broadcast: "Forgotten Melody for Flute" was the first motion picture in my career where nothing was cut."

In general, I am experiencing ambiguous feelings now when writing this article. After all, not everything was so single-dimensional in value or one-sided. And the attitude of the television people toward me personally was very kind; I cannot deny that. Last year, for example, they showed my film "The Garage" (although, I must say, why could it not have been shown previously?); then they gave permission—to be sure, after a year's requests—to do a broadcast on Vysotskiy (although, I must say again, why did it take an entire year?). Furthermore, in connection with the fact that I celebrated my sixtieth birthday, they permitted me to have an evening party at Ostankino (they do not permit everybody to do this!). And so I feel somewhat guilty for repaying this kindly attitude and concern with black ingratitude. And these feelings should probably be analyzed. Am I grateful to television for the opportunities granted to me? I certainly am grateful! And very much so! But why is there such bitterness in all my lines? Because every time the joy was spoiled by humiliation, because in every case they harassed me, gave me a hard time, and wore me out, so that I do not like to recall it....

Newspapers have the following rule: the person who has written some material, an article, or an interview must place his written permission on it that he consents to whatever corrections or abridgements have been made. But if he does not agree, he has the right not to give permission for his work to be published.

And the press is bound to abide by this. But nothing similar exists in television. How many times have I seen on the television screen persons whom I know personally to be intelligent and talented human beings, but their talks seemed to me empty, lacking in content, and at times silly. And then I saw or heard the clumsily made splices, and I understood: they had cut out something substantial, sharply pointed, and individual. Because of such overly cautious cuts, how many people has our television presented in a distorted light and, to put it simply, discredited? We must introduce the following rule by way of legal protection: Without the written permission of the person who has created something for the television screen, the program editors do not have the right to show it on the air.

My evening party at Ostankino was cut and edited several times. As a result, I wrote a letter to the Central Television management, stating that I protested the showing of this evening party in such a form: that I did

not want to appear before my fellow-citizens with such an officially edited point of view. I requested them NOT TO SHOW my evening party, and in this case, I would not make any complaint against the television office. I received no reply. After several days I took out of my mailbox a television program entitled "Moscow Tells and Shows" with an indication of the date and time when the evening party would be shown on the air.

Allow me to digress briefly from my principal topic. Television regularly shows old motion pictures. And they are right in doing so. But in what a dreadful form they show them! I recently saw "The Diamond Hand," "The Caucasian Prisoner," and "Hussar Ballad." Each time the number of television-viewers ranged from 50 million to 100 million—an incredible and enormous figure! And each time they showed faded, scratched prints with poor sound. Is it really possible that the television officials do not know that, as the years go by, motion-picture film fades, ages, and spoils? Such showings reveal a great deal of contempt for the film artist and the cameraman, who have attempted to find a pictorial solution for their motion picture, as well as a plastic artistry and a color spectrum. What a lack of respect for their own people, toward the many millions of viewers, is demonstrated by such a presentation! Because, of course, a wretched surrogate is being foisted off on people instead of giving them a highly valuable, good-quality spectacle. By the way, it costs approximately 500 rubles to make one print specifically for a television showing. Could it really be impossible to seek out and find such money so that tens of millions of viewers could see a spectacle? Because that is basically what a motion picture is—a series of visual images.

But perhaps such things occur not due to a lack of respect, but rather because of incompetence. Sergey Nikolayevich Kononykhin has been put in charge of motion-picture editing. In the past he was a figure skater, then he became a figure-skating judge, and still later—a sports commentator. Then he was promoted to the party committee of the entire Central Television. It is a substantial position. When an official's term of office is completed in this post, he must be placed in another position. That is how a figure-skating judge became chief editor of the Main Editorial Staff for Motion Picture Programs and began to judge cinematic art. I have not doubt that he can provide a splendid analysis of a Kaufman jump or other elements of figure skating. But I fear that in cinematic plastic art, screenplay-writing skill, the specific features of the motion-picture idiom, a knowledge of who's who in the cinematic art, and other fine points connected with our business, he is less well-oriented. But such is the tradition here in our country....

And finally, the last story—the creation and broadcasting of a four-part program on Vladimir Vysotskiy. I have already said that it took me more than a year to "push it through." Then, when all the parts were ready, the program lay there for seven months, waiting until the

higher-ups finally found the time to take a look at it and made their comments. For seven months the filmmaking group waited, until finally the management favored us with its attention.

Then the cavils and captious objections began—in my opinion, they were petty, unskilled, and overly cautious. For three hours they “twisted my arm” in S.N. Kononykhin’s office—he himself and his deputy, B.S. Kaplan. I had the feeling that a time machine had transported me to a point ten years back. I replied to everything: NO! NO! NO! But the two officials kept on pressing me to the extreme, methodically and stubbornly, without reacting to my sharp words aimed at them. To all their remarks, suggestions, and attempts I kept answering the same thing over and over again like a parrot.

“I do not agree and never will agree. NO! NO! NO! The physical film is in your hands. But if you cut this or that, I’m warning you: I’ll declare war on you. I’ll write an article and call it “Why Did I Leave Television During the Era of Glasnost?” I’ll write a letter to M.S. Gorbachev.” I told them some things about conscience, honor, and morality.... Finally, I left the office. I had the feeling that I had aged a whole year in those three hours: I was shattered, crushed, and annihilated.

But what do the wrath and threats of a worker in the arts mean to a bureaucrat when compared to the hypothetical dissatisfaction and disapproval of his chief? A creator of an artistic work cannot, for example, remove a bureaucrat from his position, but Big Trouble can come from a Big Chief. To be sure, it might not come, but in such cases it is better to be safe than sorry.

Understanding this, we paid close attention as to how the broadcast would be aired. And it must be said that my donkey-like stubbornness did rescue some things. And the episode constituting the principal subject of the conflict was at the beginning of the fourth part. The initial parts of the program had already been broadcast. Every evening I exchanged telephone calls with the producer-director and the editor, and they would reply: “So far nothing has been cut.”

Nevertheless, they twisted all of us around their collective little finger. How was the operation of emasculating the broadcast carried out? Because of fear that the producer-director would either refuse to do the cutting or would inform me (and I, for some reason, enjoy the reputation of being a trouble-maker), everything was done under circumstances of secrecy. The executive in charge (on that day it was Andrey Ivanovich Averyanov) was issued a directive to cut seven and a half minutes of running time at the beginning of Part Four of the Vysotskiy broadcast. He carried out the directive issued by the chiefs. Would he dare to object?! Such a thought would never enter anyone’s mind in that place. Part Four was broadcast over the first Orbit system literally with half a word and a subordinate clause. So that the cut which was made not become known to the filmmaking

group and thereby to me, during the hours when the program was being broadcast over Orbit the monitors at Ostankino were disconnected. Usually a broadcast which is going out over Orbit during the daytime is watched by many staff members. But on that day the television screens were blank. To the questions of the filmmaking group: “What’s the matter? Why aren’t the monitors working?” the following reply was given: “The equipment is undergoing preventive maintenance!”...

Oh, come on now! I can hear the reader saying. It just cannot be that the television top-brass would take such excessively cautious methods. And against whom? This filmmaker Ryazanov must have delusions of grandeur. It’s really ridiculous.... Most likely it was a coincidence, and at that time preventive maintenance really was being carried out there. But subsequent investigations, nevertheless, indicated that the so-called “preventive maintenance” for some reason took place specifically and only during those hours when the Vysotskiy broadcast was being aired. Both before it and afterward the monitors correctly showed everything that was being broadcast over the Orbit system.

And only two hours before the start of the Moscow broadcast from a chance conversation with a woman program staffer one of the members of the filmmaking group (Secrecy is secrecy! And I would not want administrative penalties to fall upon the head of this “informer.”) found out that seven and a half minutes had been cut from the beginning of Part Four. I was immediately informed about this, and I telephone S.N. Kononykhin right away. After all, something could still have been done! I reproduce our conversation below almost verbatim:

Ryazanov: Tell me, who gave the order to cut and also performed the operation?

Kononykhin: It’s not a matter of specific performers. We adopted the decision in a collegial manner.

Ryazanov: Why wasn’t I informed?

Kononykhin: We’re not obligated to inform you. This is a technological function.

Ryazanov: Who actually made the cut?

Kononykhin: We have special people for that.

Ryazanov: But why wasn’t it assigned to the producer-director? At least it would have been done accurately.

Kononykhin: Don’t worry! It was done skilfully.

Ryazanov: (A flare-up of emotions, shouts changing to coarse words)



Kononykhin: I refuse to talk to you in such a tone of voice. You know on what a high level it was stated that we must produce responsible, well-balanced broadcasts. And we have been put here for that purpose!

I began to telephone other higher officials and there, literally like a carbon-copy, the following would happen. At first the secretary would say: "I'll connect you right away!" Then a lengthy pause would ensue. After two or three minutes of waiting, I would be informed: "It turns out that Ivan Ivanovich (or Petr Petrovich) is out. He's not in the office now. Please call back later."

There was nothing more I could do. I had lost the battle. The broadcast was aired without the extremely important section where the fates of Gumilev, Yesenin, Mayakovsky, Mandelshtam, Tsvetayeva, Pasternak, and Akhmatova were discussed. This discussion, it seemed to me, had raised the program to a higher level and provided an emotional intensification. It had been its ideological center.

The matter did not end with this cut. At 9 a.m. on the following day a repeat broadcast of Part Four was aired. And on that day another executive-in-charge—Aleksandr Vasilevich Sidorin—was already on duty. He knew that seven and a half minutes were supposed to be cut from the beginning of Part Four. He did not bother to check but merely took the already-cut reel and erased yet another seven and a half minutes.

I would like to know who gave people holding such positions the right to scoff at us. Who presented them with a mandate declaring them to be more patriotic than we are?

They have a startling sensitivity toward anything non-standard, unapproved, sharply pointed, or anything that goes beyond the usual framework. And it is precisely at these places—which, by the way, are what makes a subject a work of art—that they direct their sting. Usually they say something like the following: "We've really cut out very little; and the work will not suffer at all from this...." By the way, in order to turn a man into a eunuch, it is not necessary to cut out much. But, for some reason, after this the man begins to squeak like a woman.

When one reads in the newspapers about freedom, the lack of censorship, encouragement of boldness, need for criticism, and love of talent, it seems impossible to encounter actual instances of cowardice, "no-matter-what-ism," servility, secrecy, and all the other baleful vestiges of the past period. It has seemed to me on more than one occasion—and not only to me—that the winds of change have hit up against the building on Korolev Street and have broken up without penetrating it. The appearance of change is not yet change. Do we nowadays need still waters running deep, where petty devils lurk—devils, more over, who are in the nomenklatura?

My proposals are as follows:

1. It is time that we put an end to secrecy in television personnel policy. No appointment to a management

position in this hierarchy should be made without the consent and approval of the creative unions. This is the most important point.

People must be selected openly, with a demonstration of their capabilities and their resumes; this should be done on the basis of a competition. The main thing is that these positions must be assigned not to bureaucrats who have obediently served a probationary period in an office, but rather creative individuals with artistic experience and a progressive, contemporary outlook on the world.

2. The copyright law must adopt for inclusion paragraphs which protect authors, producer-directors, and television-commentators from arbitrary bureaucratic whims, as well as from cuts stemming from personal tastes and over-cautiousness. It is necessary to introduce the following rule: without the written permission of the speaker, performer, interviewee, or the program head, the segment in question cannot be aired.

3. In case an old motion picture is to be shown, the television office is obligated to make a brand-new print specifically for the showing. 4. We must set up conflict-resolution commissions in the creative unions for examining disputed questions. Television officials must be deprived of the privilege of being secret judges of films and programs to be broadcast. Any ban must be openly discussed. For there cannot be one glasnost for the entire society and another, separate one for television.

5. We need to establish a motion-picture theater and video-tape library for "repeat television films." Here we could show motion pictures and broadcasts which, for various reasons (primarily because of censorship), have not been shown for many years.

6. I am not going to refrain from making a personal request: that a repeat showing be carried of Part Four of the Vysotskiy broadcast, with a restoration of what was previously cut out.

7. And one last point: television administration, like that in filmmaking must be a matter for the public and the state. And this means that literally everything—from the topical plans of the editorial offices to a discussion of the finished product—ought to be discussed jointly with the creative unions and with the viewers; such discussions should be open, perhaps even under the conditions of a "live broadcast."

I understand that it is unpleasant to share power, but I'm afraid that it will be necessary to do so. Such is the time! It is a good time! A time for determined, aggressive action!

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**Goskino Official Affirms Need For State Financial Support Of Cinema**

18000336a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 5 Apr 88 p 4

[Interview with Armen Nikolayevich Medvedev, first deputy chairman of USSR Goskino; time and place of interview not specified; interviewer, G. Simanovich]

[Text] [Question] Aleksandr Mitti's article "Cuckoo in the Nest," published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA at the very beginning of the year, cast doubt on a number of principles fundamental to the newly developed model of cinematography. The director "modeled" the undesirable creative, economic, and moral consequences of introducing this model. He is not alone in his concern. What do you think about this issue?

[Answer] First, let me confess that I have grown to dislike the word "model." To many people it connotes something unshakeable, virtually cast in bronze; while to others it is a kind of bogeyman filling them with terror. In actuality, the restructuring program for our cinematography, which has been developed as a result of thought and discussion, still has a long way to go; it still must be improved, modified, and "streamlined" through tests in the wind tunnel of cinematographic practice.

The doubts expressed by the author of this article sound to me like echoes of those extremist opinions and slogans which were heard during the very first stage of restructuring of cinematography. At that time, the most radically inclined people claimed it was essential to completely eliminate state control over cinematography and saw this as virtually the most important guarantee of progress. Words like "marketplace," "crash," and "bankruptcy," were bandied about as if the topic of discussion were not art, but some petty factory manufacturing unprofitable consumer goods.

I would share the anxiety felt by Aleksandr Mitti if the ideas that prevailed were that cinematography should be allowed to develop completely without guidance and that the studios should be totally subject to the rigid laws of the marketplace. Fortunately, this will not occur. Art cannot always be up for sale like a product of which there is a shortage, such as "Zhiguli," with which one need only satisfy the demand in the marketplace. Art cannot be predicted and some of its best exemplars may not be in great demand at all. Even MKhAT during its heyday in the time of Stanislavskiy and Nemirovich-Danchenko, when it was at the forefront of Russian democratic culture, was the recipient of grants from patrons of the arts. Today state and private economic aid is enjoyed by almost all the most highly developed motion picture industries in the world. And our cinematography will depend on state support in the future.

[Question] But what then what will be the nature of the cost accounting principles which our cinematography is slated to adopt next year?

[Answer] It is important to understand that cost accounting is not a panacea for all the ills of our film industry, the solution to all its problems. It would be naive to expect it; in this I agree with Mitti. The idea that cost accounting in itself will clear the way for talent is nonsense! Things are a great deal more complex. Eldar Ryazanov is right when he says that the ability to gain an audience is also a talent, a gift in film makers, which undoubtedly cannot be increased through the stimulus of cost accounting. My understanding of cost accounting is that it will serve as a test of the vitality of our art form, as an economic device which will reduce the number of films which are not for anyone, in other words, mediocre, empty, and without talent. For example, of the 150 films made last year, only about 30 have a chance for mass success. And what of the rest? Only a very few of them can be considered serious experimental art requiring an aesthetically trained audience. The rest are ballast. The law of supply and demand will help us get rid of such films, while government support and social incentives will provide material and moral support for creative experimentation and the exploration of profound artistic themes, which cannot be expected to enjoy universal acclaim or box office success.

[Question] Can this type of cinema be supported through government order?

[Answer] Without doubt. The government order, if used flexibly and wisely, performs many useful functions, including, to some extent, that of sheltering studios and the makers of "difficult" films working in them from blind market factors. But frankly, concern over the fate of such masters as Aleksandr Sokurov, whose films are very complex and recherche, under "cost accounting" conditions seems to me to be superfluous today. For all his artistic extravagance, this same Sokurov maintains an iron working discipline, and is a virtuoso of the director's profession, so that his films are very cheap. In addition, for all their complexity and controversiality, they are art. They will be less of a burden than a source of prestige for a studio.

Once more let me emphasize that the slated adoption of cost accounting is no cause for panic, but instead the only realistic economic principle for restructuring film making. It will impose coordination, ensure good "circulation" in cinematography, and reveal its creative potential.

[Question] And if this potential turns out to be poor?

[Answer] The opportunity to soberly assess this fact would alone make it worthwhile to adopt cost accounting.

[Question] Many have not accepted and have even protested the administrative and artistic reorganization of a number of important film studios. The procedure for selecting and confirming the artistic heads of studios

has come in for criticism, particularly in an article by Tatyana Liosnova in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA of 27 February. The management of Goskino and the Cinematographers' Union have been accused of lack of democracy.

[Answer] Let us consider the facts. What did we have previously? The creative association at the studios was headed by people nominated from above. The candidates, their tenure in office, and evaluation of their performance—all these were determined administratively, in the privacy of bureaucratic offices. Let us not forget, however, Gerasimova, Romma, Arnshtam.. As Zhvanetskiy aptly noted, not everything that we have foisted on us is worse than what we would have chosen. However, the system itself allowed the appointment of artistic heads who lacked artistic programs, films to their credit, authority, will, or high principles. Now we are being told that we, Goskino and the Union, are going to elect the artistic heads just as we did before. The opponents of this method refer to the way heads of enterprises are to be elected and want artistic heads of new associations (studios) to be selected similarly, after submitting their artistic programs to a competition. But after all these artistic programs are the essence of the artistic thinking of the authors. They are the fruits of their own thoughts. What collective can stand in judgement of this? Just the reverse—the artistic conception gathers a collective around it. And anyone who wanted to contribute, did so. And everyone was heard at the party committee, at the artistic council, and at the joint meeting of the Goskino collective and the Secretariat of the Cinematographers Union. Secret balloting in this case does not replace public discussion, but instead is its culmination.

Could we be mistaken in an election? Of course. But times have changed. After two or three years, an artistic head who did not live up to expectations would, after public discussion, be replaced. You will say that he will still have had plenty of time to mess things up! No, the quality of applications and designs which have been approved, as well as the artistic authority of these people, do not justify such fears.

[Question] Feeling continues to run high with regard to the idea of withdrawing permanent staff status from all the studio workers, creating a so-called creative reserve, which they have already christened the "holding tank." They have begun to speak of unemployment in the film industry...

[Answer] In the name of the college of the Goskino and the secretariat of the Cinematographers' Union, I can guarantee that elimination of permanent staff status in no way entails a situation where, one "black Monday," the entire artistic staff of a studio will wake up to find themselves unemployed. We are currently working on a regulation concerning the social status of film makers, the authorship and copyright law, and a new system of financial bonuses in the form of salary augmentation.

We are developing a general economic structure for the sector, the absence of which was a serious weakness and a major shortcoming of Goskino. Film makers will have social security. I myself, for example, am particularly concerned about the status of such outstanding masters as Abuladze, who takes years to produce a film. I am not at all worried about middling craftsmen or simply the good, solid professionals; people in both of these categories will find a place for themselves in our cinema to accord with their capabilities. They themselves understand this. And the majority of them are not upset over their daily bread. It is a matter of prestige, self-esteem, and ambitions. From a moral standpoint it will be a painful process. But not fatal. And certainly no more demeaning than the previous need to wait in the director's queue, or constantly trying to outflank the others.

[Question] Will the proposed policy of separating creation from production, the film studio from the film factory remain in force?

[Answer] This is one of the fundamental tenets in the proposed restructuring. Not everyone agrees with it. They are afraid that the factories will begin to take orders from outside. And what is so bad about that, as long as their major responsibility does not suffer? They are worried about the fate of the film industries of the minority nationalities in the USSR. Today, when the majority of national studios very frequently fail to observe the deadlines for turning in their films, when they overspend, and their films do not come near to paying for themselves, these concerns are justified. But if there is a division between the artistic and economic portions of the studios, it is the creative collective which will come to grief under such circumstances. And others will appear to take their places. And the production resources and production staff will not suffer. This is what we foresee for the future. For the time being when everything has not yet been figured out, when the first stage of cost accounting has not been completed—this division will not occur. But it remains the goal.

[Question] In film circles there are persistent rumors about an impending merger of cinematographic and cultural agencies in local areas and in the film centers. I will not ask you to comment on rumors. But if such a thing were to occur, in your opinion, would this be useful to cinematography?

[Answer] During the last half-centuries the position of the film industry as an economic sector have changed. At one time it was even considered part of the light industry system. But it has invariably regained its autonomy. Cinematography is a unique sector of intangible production. It cannot be divorced from its system of economic "blood supply." In coordination with the Union of Cinematographers, we are standing firm. Neither appearances nor narrow departmental ambitions are motivating us, but the desire to retain the independence

and integrity of cinematography. A benevolent, serious attitude toward this question on the part of party and state authorities has given us cause for optimism and hope.

[Question] The draft of the new model stipulated that the republic Goskino would be abolished completely. Has this idea been abandoned?

[Answer] Cost accounting suggests a more rational path: to reorganize the republic goskomitets, and transform them from bureaucratic organizations to cost accounting ones. They must merge with the studios, becoming a component of a "state-republic film association." Their existence will depend strictly on the economic and artistic results of the studio's work. In some situations, it may prove unprofitable to retain their personnel.

[Question] Excuse me for bringing this up, but at some point cost accounting may make your own membership in this cabinet unprofitable?

[Answer] Well what of it, I do not rule this out. Especially, if we are not able to expeditiously transform the USSR Goskino into a true headquarters staff, concerned with developing a strategy for the sector, implementing this strategy through use of the most advanced methods from the social and exact sciences, creating a resource base for the film industry, new studios, including script studios, and achieving a radical restructuring of the film renting system...

[Question] You list no functions related to monitoring the creative process.

[Answer] These functions will be performed, primarily and most importantly, by the studio itself, this problem must be solved on the basis of the wise formulation which Eldar Shengalaya likes to repeat: "There will be a serious public discussion of this issue, and on the basis of its results, a responsible state decision will be reached."

Yes, the autonomy of the artist, his independence from the will of the administration is today greater than it has ever been, and this is remarkable. But autonomy is not lack of responsibility. And Goskino cannot permit itself to completely remove itself from any sort of influence on the creative aspects of the film-making process. It is obvious to me, for example, that in the new films and scripts, good ideas of restructuring are more and more frequently stated vulgarly or clad in vulgar cliches, presented superficially and tastelessly. If you criticize, find fault, propose revisions, before you know it, you get a reputation as a reactionary and are accused of being an enemy of restructuring. But after all today in the USSR not a single state decision is made without public monitoring. So why not introduce the "scandal formula?" That's right, Goskino will not accept your work, comrade artist! You don't agree? Let us bring this before the court of the public, let the union, critics and colleagues have their say. Let us remember glasnost and constantly use it. After all, it is the most basic and perhaps the most valuable of our conquests during the years of restructuring.

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#### **Jewish Culture Society Established in Estonia**

18000415 [Editorial Report] Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian on 31 May 1988 carries on page 3 a report on the establishment of an Estonian Jewish Culture Society. The first event marking the founding of the society was a concert of Jewish music and literature held in Tallinn. The article notes that this is the first association of its kind in the country. Future plans include familiarization with the history of the Jewish people, and active participation in working on the problems faced by Estonians today. The roots of Jewish culture in Estonia, the article points out, go back to the first half of the fourteenth century. Tartu university has made a significant contribution in the past to the propagation of the spiritual values of Jewish culture, a tradition now to be continued by the new association.

### Officials Discuss Recent Investigations of Top-Level Corruption

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[Discussion conducted by Yevgeniy Dodolev, with Telman Khorenovich Gdlyan, senior investigator for especially important cases, and Nikolay Veniaminovich Ivanov and Oleg Mikhaylovich Litvak, investigators for especially important cases: "The Stages of Corruption"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Excerpts] The recently-adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "The State of the Struggle against Crime in the Country and Additional Steps to Prevent Legal Offenses" notes that the restructuring of all aspects of our society's life is organically tied to strengthening socialist legality and demands a resolute struggle against those who violate the Soviet legal order. The struggle against crime must be raised to a new level.

The details of the work of the investigative groups on uncovering a series of major crimes are now becoming known. The participants in the discussion below on the struggle against corruption and the factors that give rise to it are members of one of the groups: Telman Khorenovich Gdlyan, senior investigator for especially important cases, Nikolay Veniaminovich Ivanov, and Oleg Mikhaylovich Litvak, investigators for especially important cases.

[Question] The fact that the USSR Procuracy investigative group was digging deeply was soon understood by the republic minister of internal affairs. And he decided to "remove" Telman Gdlyan. Criminals were hired to prepare an attempt on his life.

But repentant criminals do not occur in detective movies only. Someone warned Gdlyan by passing him secret information through a very cunning network.

All the same they did not manage to catch the minister. While the arrest group was on its way K. Ergashev, UzSSR Minister of Internal Affairs, a highly placed "mafioso," shot himself. His first deputy G. I. Davydov also shot himself, using a pistol conveniently provided by someone.

Former USSR Minister of Internal Affairs N. A. Shchelokov, whose criminal acts covered more than just the Central Asian region, chose the same way to escape shame and accountability.

The "mafioso's" henchmen used these tragic facts to try to blacken the name of their exposers. For a long time the story was diligently propagated that "loyal comrades fell in an unequal fight" with the treacherous investigation, which had used "illegal methods" to drive great men to suicide. They depicted the criminals as martyrs, trying to stop the investigation of figures at this level. "Enough blood, enough tears."

But!

Except for Shchelokov none of those who ended their lives by suicide were ever interrogated. In their death notes Ergashev and Davydov, who were used to living double lives, did not unmask themselves. And the criminal minister shouted pathetically before his death, "All hail Marxism-Leninism!" They hid behind slogans while they lived, and they tried to keep using them as they departed. They wanted revenge, even from the other world.

How could it happen that corruption reached the top levels of the MVD?

[Gdlyan] The structure of our criminal law organs was formed in the late 1920's and overall, considering the difficulties of those days, I think, it at least supported performance of the jobs those organs faced (I have in mind the fight against crime in general).

Many things in present-day criminal law activity have their roots in the 1930's. That is when the stereotypes which used every means to justify any violation of legality were formed. The law was subordinated to arbitrary action.

There came times later which in some ways resembled the period of repression. Under Shchelokov the idea that everything was permitted and forgiven for MVD employees reached unprecedented scale. Employees of these organs were placed almost completely above social control and criticism. At all levels the only acceptable behavior was to glorify the existing ways and leaders.

This had a very negative impact on criminality.

In the 1970's we can observe an astonishing neglect of the most dangerous official crimes (theft, bribery, and report-padding).

The struggle against this activity was not waged vigorously enough, and most of those convicted were low-ranking "fall guys." The organizers of the crimes remained beyond the reach of the criminal law. Sometimes they used their official status and connections in the bureaucratic mechanism of criminal law organs to cover themselves. Why hide it?! They had it pretty cosy.

An even unhappier picture took shape in the early 1980's. There was rapid growth in organized official crime and the fight against it became more and more lethargic. Criminal law organs ducked and dodged, adapted themselves to the trends dominating in society, tried not to darken the generally triumphant picture of supposed well-being, and avoided "forbidden zones" with diligence and cowardice.

The concept of "dual legality" became a principle. Brezhnev and those around him unashamedly gave each other expensive jewelry, collected limousines and furs,



and turned the Leninist ideas of the inevitability of punishment and the equality of citizens before the law regardless of their position in society, rank, and accoutrements into something as ephemeral as the praise heaped on the leader who had lost all moral guidelines.

The deformation of the law and its selective application to guilty persons undermined the authority of Soviet power in the eyes of the people and discredited one of the fundamental principles of socialism, the principle of social justice. A caste of administrative workers gradually formed who were "untouchable," for whom the demands of the law became simply a humorous fiction. Even timid attempts to bring these aristocrats into the open were cut off at the roots by an angry "command from above," and the ones who had acted out of principle were ruthlessly persecuted and exiled. The main obstacles to the fight against theft, bribery, and padded reprots were those who protected these criminals.

There were a few leaders of MVD organs in the center and in the local areas who formed so-called "cover groups," and they protected bribe-takers of all stripes with professional competence. A number of procuracy employees paid dearly for attempting to bring them to accountability.

[Question] But even in those years some fairly high-level officials were brought to criminal accountability, weren't they? That is no secret to anyone.

[Ivanov] Yes, there were cases. But they were the exception which, as the English saying goes, proves the rule, and had to do with various subjective factors, squabbling among groups, or taking over some kind of "sweet post." They did not in any significant way undo the foundations of the "dual legality."

[Litvak] For example, in the mid-1970's a few administrative officials in Uzbekistan, who were opposing the more dangerous Rashidov criminal group, were brought to criminal accountability, with enormous difficulty and costs. But Rashidov himself and his criminal bunch were not hurt at all, and continued to foment lawlessness.

At this same time an investigation of one of the leaders of the republic was being conducted. But the matter did not come to a legal resolution. And after some shouting from higher up it was quickly buried in the archives. And the highly-placed criminal was just given a strict party reprimand. And it was entered in her party record. She is still alive today, and not grieving. In any case she isn't doing badly.

[Question] Can it really be true that the USSR Procuracy, which is the highest supervisory organ for law enforcement, closed its eyes to "highly-placed" criminal activity?

[Gdlyan] The fight against it was stepped up some in the late 1970's. The Rybnoye, Krasnodar, and other cases got some publicity. High-ranking party and economic workers, all the way to ministers, who had dirtied themselves with bribery, began to be brought to criminal accountability.

But the negative trends in society reached their apogee at this time. Under such conditions it proved impossible to bring cases under investigation to their logical conclusion and those who inspired the crimes received no punishment. Fastidious government hacks served up a bitter lesson: "All are not equal before the law, and it should not be understood literally."

Viktor Vasilyevich Naydenov, USSR deputy general procurator, was removed from his position and subjected to humiliating persecution for his high principles and honest performance of his duty. This sad story reached even the most remote places. And many honest employees of criminal law organs lost hope and gave up. And the opportunists drew the corresponding conclusions about the "guiding force of the law."

Lies became the norm. A manifestation of elementary honesty was viewed as something suspicious.

An especially unfortunate situation developed in the USSR MVD. Shchelokov and his "little son-in-law" Churbanov enjoyed "the highest protection." The defective system of evaluating work by quantitative indicators led to massive cover-up of crimes.

All this could not help but be reflected in the state of the fight against crime, for the country did not know the true state of affairs. Articles by a few journalists launched the rumor that supposedly bloodthirsty investigators were hunting down highly-placed victims for careerist reasons. Investigative work in the "top spheres" was like the work of a combat engineer: there could be no mistakes, for the first one would be fatal. Real assassination attempts were prepared against our group, more daring than in the Italian movies.

[Question] After the death of Brezhnev in 1983 there was a certain step-up in the activity of criminal law organs in the fight against not just general crime, but also official crime.

[Ivanov] And, gathering force, it continues to the present day.

The investigation of a number of serious cases in Central Asia, the Transcaucasus, and Moscow opened up whole strata of organized crime which you could not call anything but a mafia. It became clear to the members of these criminal groups that the continued development of this work and the steadily growing trend to bring the organizers of "mafioso" dealings, regardless of rank, to criminal accountability, threatened their continued existence.

Earlier they had no doubts of their impunity. It was backed up by their official positions, their far-flung connections, and the distorted, mercantilistic attitudes that had taken shape. Money could confidently and firmly kick open many office doors. At the critical moment the mechanism would go into action and, indeed, produce the desired results. But now it was starting to misfire, could not stand up to the new strategic line, and gradually, step by step, began retreating.

The need for corporative protection of deeply selfish interests led to the formation of a powerful front of criminal elements and their high-ranking protectors, against the criminal law organs. This did not happen all at once. The consolidation of the "front" took place after the April 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee, when the ideas of restructuring began to be put into effect. The resolutions of the 27th party congress were the most telling and irreversible blow against these forces. The counterattack began in all sectors, including use of the mass information media. A stream of misinformation pouring into administrative offices and social demagoguery at different levels caused a significant split within criminal law organs themselves. It is no secret that some of them slackened their work. And a considerable number of officials, who had become accustomed to knuckling under and adapting to circumstances, took a waiting stance and watched the barometer closely.

[Gdlyan] In compressed form this amoral system works like this: the militia abruptly cuts back work to disclose crimes, the procuracy for various proper-appearing reasons refuses to sanction arrests, and the courts on various fabricated grounds return cases for additional investigation in order to avoid final decisions in them. Let me stipulate right off, I am talking about a dangerous trend, but do not intend it as a conclusion about the work of the entire system.

But still, a crack in the foundation threatens the entire building. The danger of this trend is that everything is being done under the banner of restructuring and improving the activity of the criminal law organs. If this continues, I think, in 2-3 years we will find an explosion of crime. This wave will wash over us, and bring serious complaints from the population. Public interests will suffer, and only the criminals will gain.

The current inertia is a kind of delayed-action mine. A mine under restructuring. Only when we cross the Rubicon will we begin again to approach our work from a state point of view. The CPSU Central Committee orients us in this direction.

[Question] Well, who is standing in the way, specifically?

[Litvak] Unfortunately, there are too many such people, including our colleagues in criminal law organs. No, they are not open enemies, simply people who wait and see, doubters. They cannot throw off their deep fright, the burden of past years.

[Question] It is not surprising. After all, those who sit quietly and don't "poke around" won't "fall under the wheels." No matter what direction the train is going, incidentally. Especially when not everyone approves of the chosen direction. You know very well that the "train's direction" is not controlled by "flunkies," and among those brought to criminal accountability through the work of your group weren't there a number of figures who had held high posts in the past?

[Ivanov] Form your own opinion. There were four secretaries of the republic Central Committee, the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, a deputy chairman of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet, charges d'affaires of the republic Central Committee, seven first secretaries of party obkoms, first secretaries of raykoms, a first deputy USSR minister of internal affairs, the UzSSR minister of Internal affairs, three deputy ministers, eight heads of oblast administrations of internal affairs, and other officials from the trade and supply spheres and from administrative organs. The scale and scope of the crime was so great that even experienced investigators were sometimes left speechless.

An enormous, really enormous number of employees of different levels and ranks were drawn into the criminal orbit. Their predatory actions caused society not only significant moral and political losses, but also substantial material losses. They stole as much as they wanted. During the investigation of just this case we returned many tens of millions of rubles to the state treasury.

[Question] The people who had so much money and were used to giving orders and having power no doubt tried to buy off their accusers, didn't they? After all, they judge others by themselves.

[Litvak] Yes, that inevitably happened too. The principle that "Everything has its price" is sacred to those who are permeated with the spirit of corruption. More than once I heard people behind my back saying, "He has a mouth, but he doesn't want to eat. The bastard!" There were cases where they offered up to a million rubles.

[Ivanov] That is exactly the amount—1 million rubles—that Kudratov, director of the Bukhara city trade enterprise, was willing to pay for help in saving his life, and then he would make his way back from prison later by the same method. He was very, very confident of himself and his millions.

[Question] Attempts at payoffs, blackmail, and threats of physical reprisal. What do you think was and is the greatest obstacle to your work?

[Gdlyan] Protectionism and mutual support. When they saw that we would not compromise, their protectors from the top echelon of power resorted to a proven technique: the first secretary of the Bukhara party obkom was transferred to the position of deputy UzSSR

minister of land improvement and water management, and a little earlier the hard-core criminal Lieutenant General Ergashev, republic minister of internal affairs, was put on pension with full benefits and even given a medal "For Valiant Labor." What is more, both remained members of the republic Central Committee and deputies to the republic Supreme Soviet, in order to make it harder to bring them to criminal accountability.

**Unfortunately, this practice of shielding criminals continues today.** The people involved in bribery were not confined to the republic, but also had long-standing connections with highly-placed people in Moscow. When these executives found out that the "clues" had been discovered, a "second front" against the investigative group was opened. The resistance of those involved in bribery to the investigation assumed a qualitatively new character. We now had to fight off attacks from two sides.

The reason for the desperation of the battle between the investigation and these forces can be explained by a very simple thing: the investigation "allowed itself" to intrude on the holy of holies of the criminal bunch which, I repeat, can be called a mafia. I mean a mafia, which concentrated certain political and economic levers of power in its own hands. And protected itself from exposure by mutual support, which soils like soot. Many, many people were "smeared" with it.

[Ivanov] It created a pretty tricky situation for those who because of their official positions were obligated to make a legal assessment of the criminal actions proven by the investigation. The point was that these facts pointed mainly at people from that "untouchable" group which formerly could not be implicated in any circumstances. Therefore, some "fathers of legality and order," instead of supporting a principled line, took a compromising, waiting attitude, to put it mildly, and in this way dragged the investigation of the affair on for years.

In this way, willing or not, a third front of the struggle took shape. You cannot help recalling here the sad philosophical statement, "Spare me from my friends, and I can take care of my enemies." Those who were supposed to support us proved to be, as kids would say, cowards.

Under these circumstances, when these forces seemed about to beat us down and kill off such a needed and unprecedented case, we were forced to appeal to the highest party leadership with a written report. There is no need to recall how such appeals ended in those times we now call "stagnant." Thank God we found support and understanding at the top level. The "third front" was stopped,

[Question] What about the other two? Especially the "second," the alliance of high-ranking local protectors? Because I assume that you could have handled the "first" without help from above.

[Litvak] Our enemies' position was weak, I will put it that way. This allowed our group to carry out a successful investigation and bring the guilty persons to criminal accountability regardless of the positions they held. But the provocations and interference in the normal course of investigation by interested "big shots" did not stop, because it was a matter of their personal danger and losing all the social blessings they had acquired. That is inevitable, and we are ready to fight them.

[Question] Provocations. That is a strong word. Some examples?

[Litvak] Gladly. Ibragim Sharipov, former chairman of the Kaganskiy Rayon consumer cooperative society of Bukhara oblast, upon learning that a close relative had "sold him out" (that is, gave incriminating evidence against him), could think of nothing better as a defense than to teach him a lesson "in the family style." He beat his nephew up viciously, and put him right in the hospital.

Then, collecting a statement from the doctors about the beating and forcing his nephew to state that he was "beaten during an interrogation," Sharipov began to call on various high levels, trying to "prove" that the investigation was "beating the necessary testimony" out of innocent people: himself and his accomplices. Nonetheless, 200,000 rubles (obviously not gotten by lawful labor) was confiscated from Sharipov. Everything ended logically: the Navoy Oblast court sentenced Sharipov to 12 years loss of freedom for his dealings. I know that there were attempts to buy off employees of the republic Supreme Court during the "Sharipov case." But it didn't work.

[Ivanov] Here is another example. The entire republic knows that the investigative group confiscates large amounts of valuables from criminals. This includes gold coins from tsarist times. Just at the time of one of the confiscation actions a "simple Tashkent bootmaker" came forward with an official statement to the effect that while repairing the boot of an investigator a gold coin fell out of the boot and rolled across the floor. But the detective did not bat an eyelash, and after the repair work was done casually left the shop. The "honest bootmaker," showing admirable civil consciousness, did not take the coin, but he added "material evidence" to his statement.

How could the "simple bootmaker" know that it would not all fit together? Because the "material evidence" he submitted had nothing in common (in terms of its features) with the batch of coins which was confiscated from the underground millionaire in question. But the game was worth the candle. They sacrificed a gold coin (which, incidentally, is worth about 1,000 rubles on the black market) in order to cast a shadow on the investigation.

[Gdlyan] The people who have sullied themselves with bribery and theft are joining a conspiracy and sending collective appeals to higher levels over the supposedly illegal actions of the investigation (not neglecting to point out that they were not party to the crimes). You see all kinds of things! They broke one man's jaw, broke another's ribs, gave a third electric shocks, and a fourth was subjected to some kind of unknown drug and under its influence falsely implicated himself and others. It goes on and on.

[Litvak] It is unimportant that the falsity of these lies is established through checking them out and the ribs and jaws recover. The main thing is to bury the suspicion. You know the story of the stolen coat—maybe it was stolen, but maybe not...

[Gdlyan] But all those are, so to speak, the flowers. There are also the berries, the other group of provocateurs. From the top levels. They operate in more refined ways. And by using their influence, power, and far-flung criminal connections, they inflict more telling blows. The interests of the investigation in the current stage do not permit me to talk about this in more detail. But the opposition to the investigation has just one objective: by slander, blackmail, and disinformation not only to evade accountability for crimes, but also to keep their positions and privileges.

[Question] How are your relations with the militia after you have inflicted such a stunning blow against their corrupt leadership?

[Gdlyan] I want to note immediately that the so-called Bukhara affair was the starting point of our whole investigative epic. So it was the republic KGB that gave the impetus to this "detective story." And our group became involved on assignment from the leadership of the USSR Procuracy.

As for relations with the militia, that is a delicate matter. On the one hand, we have done and are doing everything we can to purge people with dirty hands, dishonest people, from the ranks of that system. On the other, in our struggle we are relying on help from honest MVD employees. USSR minister of internal affairs Alekandr Vladimirovich Vlasov is supporting us.

I think that the mutual understanding that has developed between the group and the current leadership of the republic ministry of internal affairs guarantees a successful conclusion to our work. Minister Uchkun Sadykovich Rakhimov and his first deputy, Eduard Alekseyevich Didorenko, are helping us without consideration of careerist ambitions. And we believe that all the dirty linen will ultimately be washed in public and the case which has taken many years will come to a close.

[Ivanov] Incidentally, the name "Uzbek affair" which has caught on behind the scenes does not fully reflect the essential features. National and geographic attributes are

out of place here. The network of corruption had its own impressive centers in Moscow, Moldavia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and in other republics.

There is no question that some people want to dress this case up in a quilted smock and Uzbek cap. And they "guided" us onto this "regional path, trying to force us to understate the scale and narrow the framework of the crimes by the "untouchables."

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### **Baku Authorities Concerned Over Readjustment of Released Prisoners**

18300232 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
2 Mar 88 p 4

[Excerpts from article by A. Eberlin: "Right of Way: How Should People Released from Prison Overcome It?"]

[Excerpts] We do not want to anticipate the sad events, but everything indicates that soon Ali Kasimov will find himself on a bench. This time he will be tried for parasitism, that is, for not working anywhere and leading a parasitic life style. Add to it the lack of a permanent place of residency and grave violations of the passport regime, and you have in front of you a ready portrait of an antisocial element, which has no place among us. And, I think, we will easily understand a judge who gives him a strict but lawful sentence.

I had a chance to discuss this subject with the authorities from the Department of correctional labor institutions of the republican MVD, and officers working in the militia and in camps. I must say that they are extremely concerned with the situation. Of course, a substantial part of convicted prisoners safely return home to their families. However, I was repeatedly told that there are many of those, who simply do not have a place to go, and majority of those are former residents of Baku. I stress this fact because for some years past the regime of registration in the city has become extremely strict. If before one could with relative ease find a dormitory in which to stay, at the present time it is much more difficult to do so.

I think that not everybody knows that in the camps there is a position of a senior inspector for settling job and housing problems of an inmate scheduled for release. The title is long but it precisely reflects its essence. The inspector's duty is to take care that the person for whom the door of freedom had opened would know where to go and what to do.

Already 3 months prior to release the inspector initiates correspondence with the families of inmates, rayont departments of militia of the previous places of residency, and enterprises, which must provide jobs. It seems that everything is thought out, but what are the results?

I asked several inspectors of the Department of Correctional Labor Institutions about it. The answer did not provide reason for optimism. The matter is that inspectors for all practical reasons are petitioners, and even if they are insistent and demanding, it does not essentially change anything. A statistical approximation shows that only in 3 cases out of 10 are the former inmates somehow settled. For others, the time of trial turns into a time of nowhere to go.

I was told several especially dramatic stories. A 70 year old woman by the name of Maria K. was released. She was in poor health, an invalid, with no relatives in the whole wide world. Scream, and nobody will hear. Where should she go? The Inspector tried to arrange for her a nursing home. However, she could not be admitted there because she did not have a pension. This matter had to be discussed at a higher level of authority. As a special exception, she was finally admitted to this nursing home.

Not everybody is so lucky. And a person, who after imprisonment cannot overcome this zone of indifference, quite often commits another crime and ends up behind bars.

Petr Doroshenko was free for only 4 months. After spending 8 years in prison he came home to his mother who had already died. He tried for a month to settle and find housing, and then he went back to his old ways and ended up in prison again.

"Nobody waited for me outside the prison", he sadly commented during the court hearings.

I could give more examples, there are plenty of those in court, but there is no need for them.

I think that the movie, popular in its time, "Vagrant" left a certain emotional mark on the word which is its title by adding a lyrical connotation. Yes, people are not born vagrants, especially in our society, but it does not make the problem easier. Vagrancy, as an acute social problem, deserves a special discussion, but here I would like to say only one thing: a large part of vagrants who sank to the bottom of life consist of former inmates who could not reach a safe shore.

... Each year, when days get warmer, an "exchange" is being formed in Mashtagi, where owners of dachas hire laborers for taking care of their lots. Militia periodically drive away this spontaneous "employment office", but it does not disappear and simply changes its location. Many vagrants from former inmates hang around this "exchange". The lucky ones get seasonal jobs at dachas, where they live and subsist. Naturally there is no registration to be considered: everything is done secretly and quietly. It is difficult to imagine a better medium for the growth of crime.

Each evening after work the daily paid workers start drinking. And where there is drinking, there are fights and stabbings. Fortunately, Alisaf Agababa ogly lived this life for a short time. He went back to camp and recently was tried for vagrancy. When the sentence was read, according to some, he even sighed with relief.

Now, I will say what a certain part of the readers will say. Yes, different people come back to freedom from the camps. Among them are those who committed very grave crimes. There are also those who did not learn anything in prison. How should one live next to them? Are they worth our concerns? Let them go somewhere else; it will be more peaceful for us.

The question is: will it be more peaceful? We can feel peaceful when the crime rate goes down sharply. Meanwhile, the outlook is pessimistic. Therefore, we should not make the situation even worse. Everything in our life is interconnected. By demanding attention to the fates of released inmates, we, at the same time, are caring for the health of society and for reducing the causes which generate crime.

However, what can be done? We cannot reserve the apartments of those who were sentenced till their release from prison. I asked about it in the Department of Housing Registration and Distribution of the Baku gorispolkom. The answer can be formulated in a few words. There are no legal statutes or local instructions which would account for providing housing to the released prisoners. How to deprive them of housing is well known, but how to provide it, nobody knows.

It is true that before, there was one way to do it. A city enterprise could take such a person based on a permit from militia, place him in a dormitory, and register him. ... However, lately, for already mentioned reasons, even this way is closed. Nobody is being registered in the dormitories of Baku. And without registration there is no work, no life.

Many managers of so called base enterprises, which based on directives must provide jobs to people who had sentences in their past, are very happy with it. Even before, they accepted them with great difficulties, and now they refuse to take them legally.

What should be done? For a long time there is a necessity to gather at a "round table" representatives of all interested organizations and to find a constructive approach to the solution of these complex problems. Maybe, it is worth creating commissions at Baku gorispolkom or rayispolkoms, which would look for housing for those, who had it before imprisonment. These people agree on any conditions. If they would have a roof over their heads, they would have a job providing an honest income.

If we would have a desire to help them. . .



### **Obstacles to School Reform Detailed by Tashauz Obkom First Secretary**

18300264 [Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian on 20 May 1988 carries on page 2 a 1700-word interview by V. Slushnik with Tashauz Obkom First Secretary O. Khodzhakov entitled "Time for Hard Work" under the rubric "Preparing for the TuSSR CP Central Committee Plenum" in which Khodzhakov discusses the problems of education in Tashauz Oblast. He says that though there are 14,000 instructors in the oblast, there are very few quality teachers. Echoing the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on education, Khodzhakov says that because of mediocre teachers and paralyzing bureaucracy in the Ministry of Education, students are being graduated who are very poorly prepared for higher education, military service, and life on their own. He speaks of dilapidated schools that operate in three shifts. He says that 290 of the oblast's schools are in mud-walled buildings of which 100 are in disastrous condition. Only 55 of 522 schools

have gas heating. Sixty percent of the schools operate in two or three shifts. He says these facts are known in the republic Ministry of Education, in Gosplan, in the Council of Ministers, and in the TuSSR Central Committee Department of Science and Education Institutions, but because of indifference nothing has been done. The overcrowding in schools is incredible, says Khodzhakov. Considerable funding has been earmarked for construction of new schools and for expanding old ones, but implementation has been poor. In recent years the kolkhozes have built only 3 schools and 23 additions for 4,340 pupils. Khodzhakov speaks of the problem of raising the authority of the teacher and creating proper living conditions in the oblast. There are 700 teachers on the waiting list for apartments. The oblast is short about 1,000 teachers, including 800 Russian-language teachers, so it would be a good idea to invite them from the RSFSR. In republic schools where classes are taught in Uzbek and Kazakh, the textbook situation is bad. It does no good, says Khodzhakov, simply to confirm the fact—vigorous action is needed.

**AzSSR Gosplan Official on NKAO Socioeconomic Development**

*18300238a Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
27 Apr 88 p 2*

[Interview of S. Sadykhov by L. Polonskiy, under rubric "Our Interviews": "The Rates Are Accelerated Ones: Republic Agencies Have Begun Fulfilling the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, Entitled 'Measures for Accelerating the Socio-economic Development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, AzSSR, in 1988-1995'"]

[Text] In the office of S. Sadykhov, deputy chairman of AzSSR Gosplan, I happened to find two persons who had just arrived from Stepanakert: R. Tonyan, chairman of the Oblast Planning Commission, and F. Guseynov, first deputy chairman of the oblispolkom. A business-like, knowledgeable discussion was in progress, concerning the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of Nagornyy Karabakh and the implementation of the 24 March 1988 decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

Glancing into papers with preliminary computations, they were discussing the construction of which projects should be strongly developed first of all, to whom the designing should be commissioned, and where the necessary funds, equipment, and materials would come from. They made proposals and counterproposals, and kept moving toward a common finding. The discussion with the representatives of the autonomous oblast was continued in the offices of other administrative workers of Gosplan, and Samed Shakhbazovich Sadykhov replies to questions asked by a BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY correspondent.

[Answer] Let us begin with the fact that the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers states that during the past three five-year plans the volume of industrial production in Nagornyy Karabakh more than tripled, and in agriculture increased by a factor of 1.5. There was a substantial increase in the oblast's participation in the republic-level and national division of labor. There were changes for the better in the social sphere. But recently one has observed a tendency toward a reduction in the effectiveness of social production, a lagging behind in the construction of housing of projects to satisfy cultural and everyday needs, and the public's needs have been satisfied in by no means a complete manner. The program which was defined in the decree is of a comprehensive, all-encompassing nature. The beginning of its fulfillment has already been laid. In order not to make rash statements, I will say that republic-level organizations have already begun designing a number of major, vitally important structures for Nagornyy Karabakh.

[Question] A large place in the decree was devoted to accelerating the development of the sociocultural sphere...

[Answer] Yes, in this area much will have to be done, and it will have to be done without any delay. Judge for yourselves: by 1990 the amount of housing in the oblast is supposed to reach the figure of 75,000 square meters. This is almost twice as much as the amount of housing area turned over per year at the beginning of the present five-year plan. In the oblast center a 400-bed hospital with a clinic that will be able to handle as many as 600 persons a day will be constructed. It is planned to provide the public-health institutions with modern equipment and to provide conditions for diagnosing the public. The designing of the hospital, incidentally, is already being carried out by Azgosproyekt. The construction of schools, kindergartens, and day-care centers will be broadly extended. The construction of a new, comfortable hotel in the oblast center is coming to an end. The deadline for its activation is 1989.

The questions of water supply for Stepankert, the rayon centers, and the villages of NKAO are being resolved. In October of this year the Baku branch of Soyuzvodokanalproyekt Institute pledged to issue the design documentation, and by the end of the current five-year plan the structures will be ready. It will be necessary to drill ten water-intake wells and, within the shortest periods of time, to lay a water conduit 30 kilometers long. As a result, the oblast center will receive 34,000 cubic meters of drinking water a day—twice as much as at the present time. The development of a scheme to guarantee the steady supply of water for the villages has been commissioned to Yuzhgiproselkhozvodostabzheniye Institute. Twenty-two million rubles have been allocated for the construction of a sewerage system in Stepanakert, which is proposed to be turned over in stages.

New houses of culture and club houses will spring up in the rayons of the oblast, and the structure that will become the most important cultural institution is a palace with an 850-seat auditorium in Stepanakert. It will also be a bright, unique architectural structure. The city design will also be beautified by the future House of Pioneers.

Radio-relay communication is being improved, and steps are being taken to enable the population to receive high-quality reception of the nationwide television programs, as well as all the broadcasts of the Azerbaijan and Armenian television systems. The construction of a radio house will begin next year in the oblast center. It is planned to remodel the printing plant in Stepanakert.

The condition of the roads in NKAO, especially rural roads, does not meet modern requirements. It is planned to carry out the construction of new general-purpose roads and intrafarm roads, and to rebuild the 75-kilometer Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert highway by the end of this five-year plan.

There will an acceleration of the rates of gasification of the oblast. In 1989 a line that will be laid to Gadрут will be activated: from Mir-Bashir the gas pipeline will go to Mardakert.

[Question] Will the current construction organizations be able to cope with the constantly growing volumes of operations in the social sphere?

[Answer] Of course not. Especially since there will be a very large number of operations in industrial production—construction, expansion, remodeling, modernization... Even the fulfillment of the design operations will require the creation of a solid base in the oblast. A branch of Azgosproyekt will open in Stepanakert and will include among its makeup both mature, experienced specialists and people born in Nagornyy Karabakh—graduates of technical institutions of higher learning in Baku, Moscow, and Yerevan. A powerful production base is being laid in the oblast for construction. The building-materials will be expanded; there will be an increase by 20 million bricks in the annual brick production; and a shop for non-ore materials with an annual productivity of 100,000 cubic meters will be activated. You can add to this the capacities for large-panel building construction, which are planned for 50,000 square meters of housing. Progressive monolithic building construction will also develop. Substantial remodeling will be carried out at the industrial combines of Trust No. 9 of AzSSR Ministry of Construction, the subdivisions of Agrompromstroy that have been deployed to Nagornyy Karabakh, and of Karabakhdorstroy. In general, the production of building materials and structural elements in NKAO will double within the very near future.

[Question] In Nagornyy Karabakh there has been formed a discrepancy between the number of working hands and the availability of enterprises. This has caused an outflow of part of the population, especially the young people...

[Answer] That's right. But the problem is also typical of other rayons in the republic. The employment rate of the population in Nagornyy Karabakh and the raising of the oblast's economic potential will be promoted by the opening up of new jobs and by the startup of a number of production entities. Branches of enterprises in the electrical-engineering industry, the radio industry, and the machine-building industry are being organized in the cities and villages of NKAO. Baku Garment Factory No. 1 will have a branch in the oblast; and Karshelkokombinat will open two branches in rural localities. It has been decided to do a lot to develop the processing industry: enterprises that will be activated are the Stepankert Canned Vegetables and Fruit Plant, with a capacity of 8 million standard cans a year; a cheese plant; a meat-processing plant; a plant to produce whole-milk products, with a productivity of 10 tons a shift; and many others. Starting with the current year, the wineries will be converted to produce non-alcoholic juices.

Working hands will also be needed for the Askeran Combined Fodder Plant, the daily production of which will be 250 tons. Incidentally, work is already under way in designing this enterprise that is so necessary for the oblast. Summarizing everything, I might note that for

many enterprises, in order to bring their activation closer together, the designing and construction will be carried out in parallel, and the construction will proceed "from the paper."

[Question] Samed Shakhbazovich, what will make it possible by the end of the 13th Five-Year Plan to increase the gross production of agriculture by a factor of 1.3-1.4?

[Answer] Once again, a series of measures. Without the combined fodder plant that I mentioned, it will be impossible to raise animal husbandry in the proper manner... I would like to dwell on providing the fields and animal farms with water. On the map of Nagornyy Karabakh there will appear the Badarachayskoye and Karkarchayskoye reservoirs—the volume of one is 30 million cubic meters, and of the other, 20 million cubic meters. The current year is the beginning of the designing and the prospecting operations.

[Question] It would seem that the planning agencies and our ministries and departments are supposed to show more flexibility, time-responsiveness, and mobility. For example, they forget that during the summer the number of people in Shusha and Stepanakert, where the air is salutary, doubles as a result of the influx of vacationers, but the supply of food products remains at the previous level.

[Answer] Yes, this should definitely be taken into consideration both by Gosplan and by Ministry of Trade and Azerittifak. The complete fulfillment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers will require a large number of coordinated efforts both from various republic-level organizations and from the party organizations and the soviets of people's deputies in the outlying areas. It will be necessary to have a businesslike approach, high organizational spirit, initiative, and a self-interested attitude toward the job at hand.

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### **Recent Latvian Demonstrations, 1949 Deportations Recalled**

*18000315 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 15, p 4*

[Article by Georgiy Tselms: "The Road to Recovery Has Begun"]

[Text] Two weeks have passed since the 25th of March, so memorable to Rigans. Passions have subsided, and it is time to think about what happened. Although thinking is something that should be done always, not put off until later...

Rain mixed with snow fell all day from morning on. Moreover, it was necessary to get to the far side of the city, and right after work at that. And would very many have found out about what was going to happen? Only

LITERATURA UN MAKSLA—the newspaper of Latvia's creative unions—informed its readers about it. There was a barely noticeable announcement in the youth newspaper as well.

No one exhorted anyone to attend, so to speak; no one was summoned.

In short, I did not expect very many people at the Communal Cemetery. How wrong I was! It seemed as if everyone in the city went out there on that gloomy spring day. An endless mournful column proceeded along the avenues. And although no one was giving orders (only a few *druzhinniki* were standing around), the people maintained strict order in the ranks, patiently awaiting their turn to go up and lay flowers at the base of the Latvia Motherland monument. For it was her day and hour of mourning....

Today, so many years later, probably very few recall what kind of day it was on 25 March 1949. Sunny? Windy? Rainy? But whatever the weather, it was a black day for Latvia: the day of departure of 14,000 families of special settlers. The trains carried both feeble old people and babes in arms.

The uninitiated may find it strange: why the flowers? why the cemetery? It seems the majority came back alive from exile. There have been more terrible years in our history.

Indeed there have been. And we survived them together, survived fully. Of the 200,000 Latvians who lived in Soviet Russia, 74,000 (more than a third!) wound up in prisons and camps during the period of repressions in 1937-1938. And they included the flower of the revolution: Rudzutak, Eykhe, Vatsiyetis, Peters....

But the fate of many special settlers was tragic. By no means all of them were destined to return home. Let me cite an excerpt from V. Grossman's book "*Zhizn' i sud'ba*" [Life and Fate]. It deals with other years, and the special settlers are not Latvians but Russians, yet their fate is the same, the fate of all of us. An aged father is telling his son "about a 50-day winter journey in vans with leaking roofs, the dead riding along with the living for long days in special trains..., how the settlers traveled on foot and women carried children in their arms..., how they were led to a winter forest where there was not even an earthen hut or cabin, and how they began a new life...."

And so the flowers and the cemetery are fully appropriate to the date.

Yes, among the special settlers were those who did not accept the *kolkhoz* system. But today we know how collectivization was carried out in the Baltic region and the nature of "the *kolkhoz* system" that was instituted in accordance with Stalin's blueprints.

But the point, let me repeat, is that only a court could have separated the wheat from the chaff. And since there was no court, the exile cannot be called anything but a lawless act. Incidentally, even the bandits, known as "brothers of the forest," were tried and justly punished. But how were the innocent punished, and for what?

Today this is all common knowledge. Hence, "the road to recovery has begun." This is the conclusion that is drawn in LITERATURA UN MAKSLA by poet and Latvian Writers Union Chairman Yanis Peters in regard to the truth of history, which although it has come late is nevertheless becoming established in our life—timidly, perhaps, but apparently irreversibly.

...The people walked and walked along the lanes of the Communal Cemetery. And their silent procession spoke, more eloquently than any speeches, of the people's inescapable pain, their eternal memory of the victims of repression, of unforgiveness. It was necessary only to walk along a few steps in this column to know that there would be no return to the past!

It is time to give due credit to the bravery of the leaders of Latvia's creative unions—writers, artists, composers, cinematographers, architects, theater people; better than other "official bodies" they realized the importance of this date to the people and understood that it must not be given over to political speculators. Hence the LITERATURA UN MAKSLA announcement of these unions' decision to observe a minute of silence in the Communal Cemetery and to lay flowers in memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions. By doing so, they, so to speak, spearheaded the mourning processions, taking all responsibility upon themselves. To be sure, the *gorispolkom* authorized "a flower-laying event," but all the other "authorities" maintained neutrality. Unofficially, friendly whispers were passed from one official to another: "Participation is not recommended."

Long before the 25th of March, the Western "Voices" began to fill the airwaves with the announcements of the so-called "Helsinki-86" group. This nationalistic group wanted to take upon itself the mission of being the main hired mourners for the victims of repression. As the epicenter of their grief they designated the long-suffering Freedom Monument in the center of Riga. One would think that this monument had just been rehabilitated and could no longer be blamed for its "bourgeois origins." But because of repeated performances lately, organized by the "Helsinki" group, it has again "fallen from grace." But aren't we to blame for this as well?

The day before the event I asked one official why it had been decided to observe a moment in memoriam in the cemetery rather than at the monument. He answered: "A gathering at the monument was proposed by the 'Helsinki' group, and it would look as if we were responding to their call."

Why? We knew, after all, that the people have not forgotten this date, which remains like a splinter in their heart. And all of us had experienced the 14th of June of last year, when the "Helsinki" group held a public "mourning" at Freedom Monument in observance of the peak of the 1941 exile. On that day there was an attempt to break up their enterprise... with a bike race that was routed past the monument. Enough time has gone by to acknowledge that the "rationale" for this ideological skirmish was not a very strong one.

At 6:00 p.m. that day a crowd began to assemble at Freedom Monument. I came there directly from the cemetery. The contrast was amazing. Their faces showed not a trace of grief but only curiosity, anticipation of a scandal, a spectacle. Many were smoking, laughing, talking loudly. There were drunks as well. In the cemetery there had been people; here it was just a crowd.

Singly and in groups the people went up to the monument with their flowers. A few druzhinniki and militia officers were standing placidly. So that when someone in the crowd started applauding, it looked pathetic. What kind of heroism is that—laying flowers? And how to reconcile applause with grief? The people in the crowd kept shifting from one foot to the other and were bored. Different ones began to move away, the show was clearly a failure. The "Helsinki" group tried to spark some emotion by posing on their knees and crossing themselves. The stone figures of the Latvian heroes on the monument's pedestal seemed to be gazing scornfully at the posturing clowns. Almost an hour passed. The show's directors appeared to be getting frustrated. But suddenly, help arrived. Above the square a voice rang out through the loudspeaker, twice warning the people not to interfere with pedestrians and vehicles.

I can testify that at that moment pedestrians and vehicles were passing without hindrance. But a few minutes went by, and the following cue was given: "Because none of you have obeyed, we are compelled to take measures." Right then, the militia and druzhinniki moved in. I was standing next to the "Helsinki" group and could see how their faces lit up with joy at that instant: finally they got the chance to put on a show. And it was starting! At their signal, about 100 persons surged up to the monument. Even this, to be sure, was no guarantee of success "on stage." What to do next? Stand on their heads, perhaps? Or gnaw the granite base with their teeth?

The militia and the druzhinniki, nevertheless, continued to advance upon the sparse crowd. And wasn't that a go-ahead for these amateur performers! The "victims" swaggered in front of the cameras. The spectators whistled and jeered. A drunk next to me crowed like a rooster.

In a few minutes the crowd was dispersed.

Nevertheless, there is every reason to conclude on an optimistic note: time moves forward irreversibly. What took place on the 25th of March in the Communal Cemetery, I believe, will go down in history. It will become a tradition. We have taken one more important step in the development of democracy and glasnost. I also believe that tomorrow Freedom Monument will become totally **our** monument. And what happened at the base of the monument will be recalled as a curiosity. If we have learned our lesson, of course....

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### **Solutions to Bilingualism Issue in Lithuania Examined**

*18000337 Vilnius SOBYTIYA I VREMYA in Russian  
No 6, Mar 88 pp 10-13*

[Article by Yuozas Paletskis, candidate of historical sciences, docent, under the "Ideology: Direction, Quality, Effectiveness" and "Soviet Man: Internationalist, Patriot, Citizen" rubrics: "Practicable Bilingualism: The Situation and the Prospects"]

[Text] Native speech is the most important national trait of every nation, the basis for its existence and development of a national culture. Questions of national languages have always been important in our country: dozens of nations and nationalities dwell here, speaking in more than 130 languages. These problems occupied an important place both in CPSU theory and in its practical activity.

Closing ranks with workers of all the nationalities which dwelt on the territory of tsarist Russia, the Communist Party has consistently stood for the equality of nations and nationalities, and for their languages; it spoke out decisively against the state status of the Russian language, and against a privileged position for any language. After the October Revolution these programmed tasks of the party on the national question became the basis for its constructive activity.

Putting into practice the principles of national policy drawn up by V.I. Lenin, nearly 50 nationalities in the USSR have established written national languages. In a brief historical period the nations which formerly had no rights and defenses had set up organs of state power and administration, schools, theaters, and other cultural-educational institutions operating in their native language, and trained a large cohort of national cadres of workers and intelligentsiya. Literary and scientific works, newspapers, magazines and political literature were created and published in the native language.

Thus, owing to the nationalism policy under conditions of socialism, the languages of many Soviet peoples left the domestic sphere and were elevated to the level of science, art, literature, and state institutions. National



languages played an important role in the struggle with the economic, political and cultural backwardness of the nations which formerly had no rights, and they became involved in actively creative labor.

In the Soviet Union right now, television and radio programs are broadcast in 67 languages; children are taught in almost 50 languages of the peoples of the USSR; books are published in 63 languages, magazines in 46 languages, and newspapers in 55; works of fiction are produced in 77 languages, and theaters present plays in 47 languages.

The Lithuanian language is a vivid example of the equality of national languages and their free development in the Soviet Union.

The Lithuanian language is an ancient national language which possesses a rich written tradition. Its development is closely connected with the socialist system. Today over 80 percent of the citizens of the Lithuanian SSR speak it.

In our republic the Lithuanian language is also valued as the native language of the majority of the republic's populace both as a means of intercourse, as a unique national achievement cherished for centuries, and a great spiritual value.

Training of Lithuanian Studies specialists on a massive scale was of great significance for the flourishing of the Lithuanian language in the years of socialism. From the vast cohort of Lithuanian Studies specialists during the years of Soviet power in Lithuania came linguistic scholars famous throughout the world. Today the names I. Kazlauskas, V. Mazhyulis, Z. Zinkyavichyus, I. Lebyadis, I. Palenis, V. Ambrazas, A. Sabalyauskas, A. Girdyanis, I. Pikchilingis and many others are known in a number of countries. During the years of socialism, Lithuania has become a recognized world center for Lithuanian and Baltic Studies specialists.

Being the most important means of intercourse of the Lithuanian socialist nation, and a form of manifestation of its culture, the Lithuanian language plays a significant role in the republic in the development of education, science and culture, and in the assimilation of a vast stream of information. During the 1986-87 academic year, 82.8 percent of the total number of pupils in the republic were taught in the Lithuanian language in the general-educational secondary schools. And in the 1987-88 academic year, 85.4 percent of the first-year students were enrolled at VUZ's where instruction is given in the Lithuanian language.

In the Lithuanian SSR, political and scientific literature, works of fiction, textbooks, newspapers and magazines are published in great numbers in the Lithuanian language; television and radio programs are broadcast in Lithuanian, and intensive cultural-educational work is

carried on. At present TESA, the main republic newspaper, is published with a much larger circulation than all the newspapers of bourgeois Lithuania taken together.

In view of the fact that the Lithuanian language performs important social functions in the republic, is the native language of the majority of its inhabitants, and is its lingua franca: Russians, Poles, Belorussians and representatives of other nations and nationalities are striving to master it as well. Soviet Lithuania now occupies first place among the union republics in terms of the number of people of Russian nationality who live in a national republic and have mastered the language of its indigenous population. For the greater part of the citizens of our republic of various nationalities, knowledge of the Lithuanian language is a natural requirement, brought about by life itself.

From the point of view of carrying out social functions, the Lithuanian language now occupies positions which it did not have during the years of bourgeois power. It serves all spheres of economic, cultural and social life; it satisfies the needs of the Lithuanian socialist nation and representatives of other nationalities; and thus, it fulfills the important function of regional intercourse. At the same time the Lithuanian language, as do languages of other peoples, supports the enrichment of the cultural treasures of our multinational state and the whole world. Therefore it has not only local and national, but also international significance.

The flourishing of the Lithuanian national language and its intensive public use is a result of the constant concern of the Communist Party and the socialist state.

The Lithuanian CP has always considered the Lithuanian language an important, integral part of the Lithuanian national culture. Therefore, during the years of socialism measures were implemented in the republic which established favorable conditions for improving instruction in the Lithuanian language, for expanding the training of cadres and developing the Lithuanian language as a science, and for increasing the social role of the Lithuanian language and the standards of its use.

Along with the free and universal development of the Lithuanian language and its predominance in public life, equality has been realized for the other languages spread throughout the republic, and hostility toward those who speak another language has been practically eliminated.

For the absolute majority of the population of the republic this is an altogether natural and understandable phenomenon, which affirms the old truth that if you want to be on equal terms with others, you must respect them yourself and support equality. People of various nationalities, speaking various languages, have dwelt in Lithuania since ancient times.

The more numerous and compactly-settled Russians and Poles, and citizens of other nationalities who speak Russian and Polish, have favorable conditions for the use of their native language in various spheres of social life in Soviet Lithuania. In the 1986-87 academic year 15.2 percent of the pupils in the republic studied in schools where Russian is the language of instruction, and 2.0 percent in schools with Polish language instruction. Groups with Russian language instruction are found in vocational-technical schools, *tekhnikums* and *VUZes*. The Vilnius State Pedagogical Institute has a Polish Language and Literature Department.

Russian and Polish-language radio and television programs are broadcast; newspapers and magazines are published in those languages, as well as books, textbooks, and works of fiction; amateur artistic activities are organized, and ideological work is carried on.

For the economic and cultural progress of the Soviet people, the use of not only one's native language, but also Russian, has been very important in various spheres of life. Based on voluntary agreement among the nations and nationalities of our country, the Russian language has become the means of international intercourse, and is very important for the expansion of cooperation among the Soviet peoples, training national cadres, and exchanging a vast amount of information and experience in building socialism. The most important works of fiction of the peoples of the USSR and the entire world have been translated into the Russian language. Today, with its help, 70 percent of the world's information has become accessible.

Most citizens of the Lithuanian SSR harbor no doubts about the importance of mastering the Russian language. There is no need to explain the fact that it is not enough for a cultured person to know only his native language: he must master other languages as well, and above all the most widely-used language. At various stages of history, the greater part of the Lithuanian people knew well the languages of the neighboring peoples also—Russians, Poles, Germans, Latvians and Belorussians.

During the years of building socialism, an ever-increasing number of Lithuanians sought to learn the Russian language, understanding the objective necessity for mastering it. Today fully half of the Lithuanians know Russian. This is especially characteristic of the young people: in the cities of the republic about 86 percent of Lithuanian youths know Russian well, and in Vilnius about 90 percent of them do.

Bilingualism has become the norm and the reality of social life in all the national republics; however, in recent times quite a few problems have accumulated here. This is connected not only with the multinational nature of our state, and the qualitatively-new type of national relations, but also with the errors committed in the

sphere of national relations in the years of the personality cult. In addition, in the recent past both party and state organs, and scholars as well, have underestimated the complexity and contradictory nature of national relations.

Negative trends gradually appeared in the sphere of national relations, the basic reason for which was the deformation of economic and social relations, and the sphere of intellectual life.

For years problems of national relations went unresolved, or were resolved in a perfunctory manner. They "crept" along the surface, avoiding the real, true and subtle national problems. Unjustified haste, the attempt to leapfrog the stages necessary in building socialism, also led to improper and hasty decisions in national relations. In addition, in certain regions and in certain union republics Leninist principles of the party's national policy were grossly violated.

The linguistic processes too were unable to avoid the gap between theory and practice in national relations, and mistakes and deformations in the area of national relations. In recent times, in certain union republics, the functions of the national languages in social life have narrowed significantly.

This cannot be explained, as once was the case, in terms of objective factors alone. Such a situation came about largely because of: underestimation of the role of national languages; the indifference of certain officials toward national languages; bureaucratic administrative methods; ignoring the principle of equality of use of Russian and national languages in various spheres of life; and, because of erroneous conceptions and recommendations of some scholars.

The tasks of restructuring Soviet society and the interests of strengthening mutual trust among the nations and nationalities today demand that we devote greater attention to the further development of national languages and to their interaction with the Russian language. On this basis, the practicable functioning of bilingualism will be guaranteed. Practicable bilingualism in the union republics will become possible when the language of the indigenous population is used intensively in the various spheres of social life along with the Russian language.

In implementing this policy, it will be necessary to improve the instruction of native and Russian languages in general-educational schools and other educational institutions in the union republics; to become more concerned about the training of qualified teachers; and to create other genuine possibilities for completely mastering the languages. At the same time concern must be shown for the practicable functioning of the language of the indigenous population of the republic in social life (and above all in the areas of culture, education and in the work of state organs).

Greater attention should be paid not only to studying the language of the indigenous nationality in the national schools, but also to improving its instruction in schools where subjects are taught in Russian, to help people of other nationalities study it—party and Soviet cadres, and workers in the national economy, health, education, culture and other areas. This is in consonance with the best traditions of the party's nationalities policy.

Realizing these measures requires efforts on the part of party and Soviet organs, and specialists in sociological research. It is important that the tasks associated with the functioning of the Russian and national languages are solved in every republic, taking into consideration the true situation and the concrete capabilities of certain of the regions of the country and the republics, and on the basis of thorough study of the needs and the mood of the people. Excessive speed and adoption of voluntaristic solutions are forbidden. Attempts to dramatize the linguistic processes are not justified, nor are attempts to limit the use and study of both the Russian and the national languages by bureaucratic-administrative methods.

At the same time the solution of these problems must not be put off to the indefinite future. For this reason, in certain union republics (Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moldavia and the Ukraine), leading party organs have recently adopted special resolutions which envisage concrete measures for improving the instruction of native and Russian languages, and increasing the role of the national languages in the work of state organs and in various areas of cultural life.

In Soviet Lithuania too, greater attention must be devoted to the functioning of the native and the Russian languages.

The well-grounded concern of the public today is brought about by the fact that many young people of Lithuanian nationality, after completing secondary school, speak poor and improper Lithuanian, filled with jargonisms. VUZ students—future specialists in the national economy—have a poor grasp of the literary language; this is quite often true of cultural workers as well. Indifference to one's native language gives birth to indifference to the national culture and disrespect to native traditions as well, and intensifies a cosmopolitan attitude.

In order to ensure the practicable, harmonious functioning of bilingualism, practicable conditions must be created for it, such that citizens of Russian and other nationalities can learn the Lithuanian language well. Only such people can gain a good understanding of the local conditions, the peculiarities of the republic's economy and culture, and the traditions and psychology of the nation. Knowledge of the Lithuanian language will provide the opportunity to people of other nationalities to actively and fruitfully work in the republic's party and state organs, and to take part in the cultural life; and, in

other words, more rapidly and better adapt to the local ethnic milieu, and come to know the territory, which has become their dwelling place and their second homeland.

The tasks for perfecting national and international relationships, and firmly establishing the friendship of the nationalities requires selfless dedication to solving the problems of training and using the languages. This requires the concerted efforts of party and Soviet organs, schools, scholars, writers, the family, publishing houses, and mass propaganda and agitation media—in short, the entire society.

Apparently these problems cannot be solved in our republic by the same methods and on the same scale as in other union republics.

Training in Lithuanian, Russian and Polish as well should be improved in kindergartens, general-educational schools and VUZ's, and in other academic institutions. To ensure the proper level of instruction, it is necessary to prepare new textbooks and other visual training aids; to equip special studies in the schools; and to improve the quality of training of instructors in the Lithuanian, Russian and Polish languages, and to increase their skills.

In inculcating love and respect in the children for other nationalities, their language and culture, they must become more widely acquainted in kindergartens and in Lithuanian-language schools with Russian history, traditions, and the customs of the Russian people; with oral popular creativity; with works of artistic literature, and the fine arts. And in Russian and Polish-language schools, the other way around, with the culture and history of the Lithuanian people.

At the same time favorable conditions should be created for the study of the Lithuanian and Russian languages by all who wish to do so: increase the publication of dictionaries, conversation books, textbooks and other teaching aids; expand the system of courses and study groups for the study of the Lithuanian language in industrial and academic collectives, and in state institutions; and make wider use of the capabilities of radio and television. The propaganda and agitation media should better propagate the importance of Lithuanians mastering the Russian language; and the Lithuanian language by Russians, Belorussians, and representatives of other nationalities.

In resolving the problems associated with the use of the languages which are especially widely used on the territory of the republic, and with their functioning, the resolution of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee adopted in 1987, "On Measures for Improving National Relations in the Republic and Increasing the Effectiveness of International and Patriotic Education," is of great significance.

The first steps are being taken on the path to solving the real problems of bilingualism. Beginning with the 1988-89 academic year, schools in which instruction is carried out in the Russian and Polish languages, with an enrollment of more than 25 persons, will be divided into groups during Lithuanian language lessons. The number of lessons in the Lithuanian language will be increased in these schools. New textbooks for Russian and Lithuanian languages are being prepared for general educational schools with Lithuanian, as well as Russian and Polish-language instruction.

Better conditions are also being established for mastering the Lithuanian language by citizens of Soviet Lithuania who are not of the indigenous nationality. Last Fall in Vilnius, Kaunas, Panevezhis, Klaypeda, Mazheykyay, and other cities in the republic, new courses of study of the Lithuanian language were organized. Republic television stations have begun to broadcast special lessons in the Lithuanian language for beginners.

At the same time, the interests of the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and representatives of other non-indigenous nationalities are receiving greater consideration as well. In the 1987-88 academic year in practically all the republic's VUZ's, new groups have been organized with instruction in the Russian language (93 such classes were filled in first-year courses; whereas in the 1987-87 academic year there were 71). Moreover, the number of students in groups with instruction in the Russian language has grown by 2.0 percent. A short while ago republic television stations began daily Russian-language broadcasts of an informative nature, "News of the Day."

Thus, it is planned to guarantee the harmonious functioning of bilingualism in the republic, making it a most important means of friendship and cooperation among the people, strengthening mutual trust among them, and satisfying their professional, cultural and intellectual interests.

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#### UzSSR: Intersovkhoz Land Dispute Leads to Fighting

18300221 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
8 Apr 88 p 4

[Article by V.Karimov, PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondent, from Samarkandskiy Rayon: "What Happened in Dzhumbazar?" subtitled "From the Scene of the Accident;" first and last paragraphs in boldface]

[Text] Let us mention in advance that the Samarkand obkom bureau has dispensed justice to all those who are responsible for the incident in which a number of inhabitants of the village Dzhumbazar stepped over the limit of the permissible, created disorders and resorted to hooliganism. And what else to call it when people assert their point of view with stones?

What compelled people to resort to such unworthy means of solving a conflict? Why such barbarism nowadays?

The sovkhos "Leninabad" broke off from the sovkhos "Bagizagan" and became an independent entity in 1974. After that, various official entities began to get letters: one asking to pave a road, another to provide running water, yet another to build a child care center, and so on. This was understandable: people want to improve their lot. It should be noted that sovkhos workers' demands did not go unanswered.

Everything would have been fine, but the demands were growing out of proportion. Moreover, it became a rule to try to get every demand fulfilled. Importantly, the demands usually did not come from the sovkhos's management or administrative body, not from the public, but from a handful of individuals who arrogated power. They were obeyed and even feared. What happened April 1 can be compared to a long festering wound on a healthy body, which finally burst open.



Let us look at it from the beginning. In 1981, after a number of adjustments, the region's economic boundaries were finally drawn for sovkhozes "Bagizagan," imeni Kalinin, "Almazar," imeni Dzerzhinskiy, imeni the 25th Party Congress and "Leninabad." The "Leninabad's" representatives, arbitrarily and selfishly (for no other reason except their own wish), started to demand 430 hectares of land belonging to the sovkhoz "Almazar" which lay on the other side of the Dargom canal and which presumably had once belonged to the "Leninabad."

It is hard to tell how many times this question was raised and how many commissions were set up to look into it. As expected, the commissions time and again rejected those unfounded claims, but the instigators were not discouraged and continued to press their demands.

The question arises why at the time, at the inception of the problem, neither the party raykom and obkom, nor the rayispolkom and oblisponkom looked deeper into the essence of the problem and found out who exactly was causing all the tensions. Had they warned the instigators in time, had they exposed them publicly the ensuing events may have been avoided.

Here are some facts and figures about the "Leninabad." It comprises subsidiaries of the Samarkand PShO imeni March 8, of the garment production trust "Mekhnat," of the Urgut rug factory and of the vinery imeni Khovrenko. Over 600 workers are employed at its plants, agencies and offices. No other sovkhoz in the region, not even the "Almazar," has as many enterprises. The "Leninabad" has 1,334 hectares of land, of which 465 hectares are irrigated arable land, 494 hectares are planted with perennial cultures and the rest contains structures or is used for private plots, roads and irrigation systems; 141 hectares are unused.

The sovkhoz has two high schools, winter and summer clubs and plenty of outlets providing convenience services. The "Almazar" has roughly the same acreage and approximately as many agricultural jobs as the "Leninabad." As to local industry and infrastructure, the "Almazar's" are in many ways inferior to the "Leninabad's." And as far as labor zeal is concerned, the "Leninabad's" collective would have to work hard just to catch up with their neighbors.

Here are some facts: last year, one hectare of land planted with perennial cultures yielded at the "Leninabad" 3.520 million rubles worth of output, and at the "Almazar" 4.418 million rubles; profits were 448,000 rubles and 557,000 rubles, and profitability 22.5 percent and 26 percent, respectively. In many areas, including animal products, the "Almazar's" performance is better.

The "Leninabad" has huge untapped reserves, and the sovkhoz should be working to develop them. What does it need additional lands for if its own existing acreage has not been fully utilized yet? Two days before the outbreak of violence, a group of "Leninabad" people armed with agricultural implements crossed the dried-out bed of the canal to the "Almazar's" side and began working in other people's orchard as if it were their own. They cut a trench right through the garden, thereby establishing a new boundary. Caught by surprise, people from the "Almazar" did not at first understand what was going on, complained to the raykom and rayispolkom and tried initially to bring the neighbors to their senses.

That same day, workers from the "Leninabad" began building a bridge over the Dargom. They found pipes, concrete bridge panels and cement, welders suddenly materialized, electricity was installed and even required machinery happened to be within reach. Where did they get it all from? Who helped them, thereby himself becoming an involuntary accomplice in lawlessness? These questions, of course, call for answers.

Today, many in the "Leninabad" openly express their anger and shame over the incident, blaming the instigators above all. But why did they listen to them in the first place?

In connection with the accident, we would like to ask the "Leninabad's" communists why their party organization turned out to be so ineffective? There are in the sovkhoz some soviet deputies as well. Where were they? How did it happen that the instigators were able to control a large number of sovkhoz workers? Answers to these questions must be found.